

SOME SURVIVALS OF THE HARAPPA CULTURE



BY

T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN

ADVOCATE, HIGH COURT OF JUDICATURE AT MADRAS.

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Other Works by the Same Author

THE KAVERI, THE MAUKHARIS AND
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University of Madras, 1925.

SOUTH INDIAN PORTRAITS IN STONE
AND METAL
Luzac, London, 1930.

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SOUTH INDIA
India Society, London, 1931.

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Office of Journal of Oriental Research,
Madras, 1930-2.

CATALOGUE OF THE VENETIAN COINS IN
THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT MUSEUM
Government Press, Madras, 1938.



P R E F A C E

In the series of studies that follow I have endeavoured to interpret some of the features of the culture discovered at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro and to show how certain elements in Indian culture believed to be no older than Buddhism and Jainism are indeed twice at least as old, dating back fifty centuries, how a few elements which we have been taught to regard as foreign are really native to the soil and how Indian culture of today is, in some aspects, a derivation from the culture of Harappa. It is also shown incidentally that this culture shared some characteristics with other contemporary cultures and that therefore the physical barriers between India and western Asia could have been no impediment fifty centuries back to cultural flow and counter-flow. Frankly, these studies are speculative, but I hope that it will be recognised that the speculation has outrun neither evidence nor discretion.

T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN.



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SOME SURVIVALS OF THE HARAPPA CULTURE

I. SUGGESTIONS OF SURVIVALS

The Harappa Culture,¹ found in full blossom about 2800 B.C.², appears to have vanished in a short while. To judge by what may be deduced from the antiquities of the next period of which remains have survived to us,—the period of about four centuries immediately preceding the beginning of the Christian era, that is, more than two thousand years later,—it looks as if it left behind little of a trace. Reminiscences are however found, both in the symbols appearing on the 'punch-marked' coins found all over India³, which are definitely known to have been current from about 400 B.C., and in the standard of weight to which they conform⁴. The figures of deer carved on the pedestals of the images of the Buddha from about the 2nd century A.D. and also at the feet of images of Śiva as Dakṣiṇāmūrti seem to be survivals of a *motif* known to this culture⁵. If the suggestion that the Brāhmī script is descended from the writing on the seals of this culture is found to be correct, the Indian systems of writing now in vogue would all be the direct, though remote, heirs of this culture. If the contention that the script of Easter Island bears so close a similarity to that of Harappa as to be deemed to be a descendant, and a very near one too, turns out to be well-founded⁶, at least one feature of this culture would seem to have voyaged away an incredibly great distance and to have survived there till recently. The religion of the culture has, however, left a deep and permanent impress, for among its bequests are the cults of a Yogī-God, in all probability the proto-type of Śiva⁷, and of a Mother-Goddess⁸, probably not very different in origin, but quite distinct in development, from the similar goddess of other early cultures. It may be that the

1. The discovery of more than one prehistoric culture in the Indus region makes it desirable that Dr. E. MACKAY's precept (*ASI. AR*, 1936 : 39) and Prof. Norman BROWN's example (see *JAOS*, 1939 : Sup. 32-44) should be followed of preferring the restrictive term, 'Harappa Culture', to the general term, 'Indus Culture', which Sir John MARSHALL employed in the days when it looked as if there was no evidence of another early culture in the Indus region.

2. MACKAY, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 7.

3. FABRI, in *JRAS*, 1935 : 307-18 ; Durga-PRASAD, in *JASB*, 1934 : N 16-7 : 38-9 ; WALSH, *Punch-marked Coins from Taxila*, 91-6.

4. HEMMY, in *JRAS*, 1937 : 25.

5. MARSHALL, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 55.

6. See Appendix 1.

7. MARSHALL, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 52-6.

8. Was Śiva as Natarāja known too? See MARSHALL, *Ib.* 46. And a proto-type of Rṣabha, the Jain Tīrthaṅkara? See CHANDA, in *Modern Review*, Aug. 1932 : 159-60.

worship of the phallus and baetyli are also the bequests of this culture⁹. Standards crowned by a bull or a bird carried in procession may be the Harappa proto-types of the free-standing pillars crowned by animals like the elephant and birds such as the Garuḍa belonging to the Mauryan age, and both might have been objects of worship¹⁰.

With the progress of excavations at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, the two principal centres of this culture now known to us, and with the accumulation of further evidences of this culture¹¹, we are now in a better position than we were in about ten years back to trace its influence on the culture of succeeding centuries.

II. ORIGINS OF INDIAN COINAGE AND ITS AFFILIATIONS

'None of the seals of the other ancient civilizations resemble those that have been found at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro either in their devices or the pictographs they bear, or even in shape'¹². The distinctiveness of the seals of the Harappa culture consists not only in the symbols and the legends on them but also in the manner in which they are assembled and the format into which the assemblage is cast (Fig. 1 : 1-4). These features of the seals are six in number,—the adoption of a square shape, the division of the square area into an upper and a lower portion, the billeting of an animal in the lower portion and the running of an inscription in the upper, the picturing of the animal in profile, and the placing of an object in front of the animal (unless it be an elephant). The presentation of the animal in profile need not necessarily be a characteristic special to this culture, for the profile may be easier of achievement in early art than the frontal view. But the preference for the profile on the seals of the Harappa series is no ground for assigning the seals to the infancy of the glyptic art, for the frontal view has been achieved with success on other seals of this culture¹³, and glyptic art elsewhere in Asia¹⁴ had

9. MARSHALL, *Ib.*, 49-52. The suggestion has been made that one of the signs occurring on some of the Harappa seals [MARSHALL, *Ib.*—129 (383)] resembles a human figure with four hands and so may be the symbol for a divinity : CHANDA, in *Modern Review*, Aug. 1932 : 158-9. If the suggestion is tenable it establishes indubitably the antiquity of what is now known as Brahmanical iconography. The identification would prove an exceedingly happy one if only we can persuade ourselves that it is not improbable.

10. CHANDA, *Prehistoric Civilization of the Indus Valley*, 34-5.

While this study is passing through the press, GORDON & GORDON draw attention to some other survivals : *JRASB.L.*, (1940) 6 : 61-71.

11. This paper was completed before VATS's *Excavations at Harappa* was published. In revising the manuscript for the press I have introduced just a few references to this work.

12. MACKAY, in MARSHALL, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 381. Throughout this paper I have avoided employing the term 'sealing', for it appeared to me that though accuracy might be attained clarity would be lost if I kept intruding on the reader the distinction between 'seal' and 'sealing'.

13. See, for instance, Figs. 7 : 1, 2 ; 13 ; 14 : 1.

14. See, for instance, FRANKFORT, *Cylinder Seals*, 44 : 10(e, i) ; 50 : 12(b) ; 51, 69 : 13(a, f, h) ; 51 : 14(b, d).

mastered the technique of that view at about the same time as the Harappa culture. The other features, however, are not known to early art.¹⁵ What

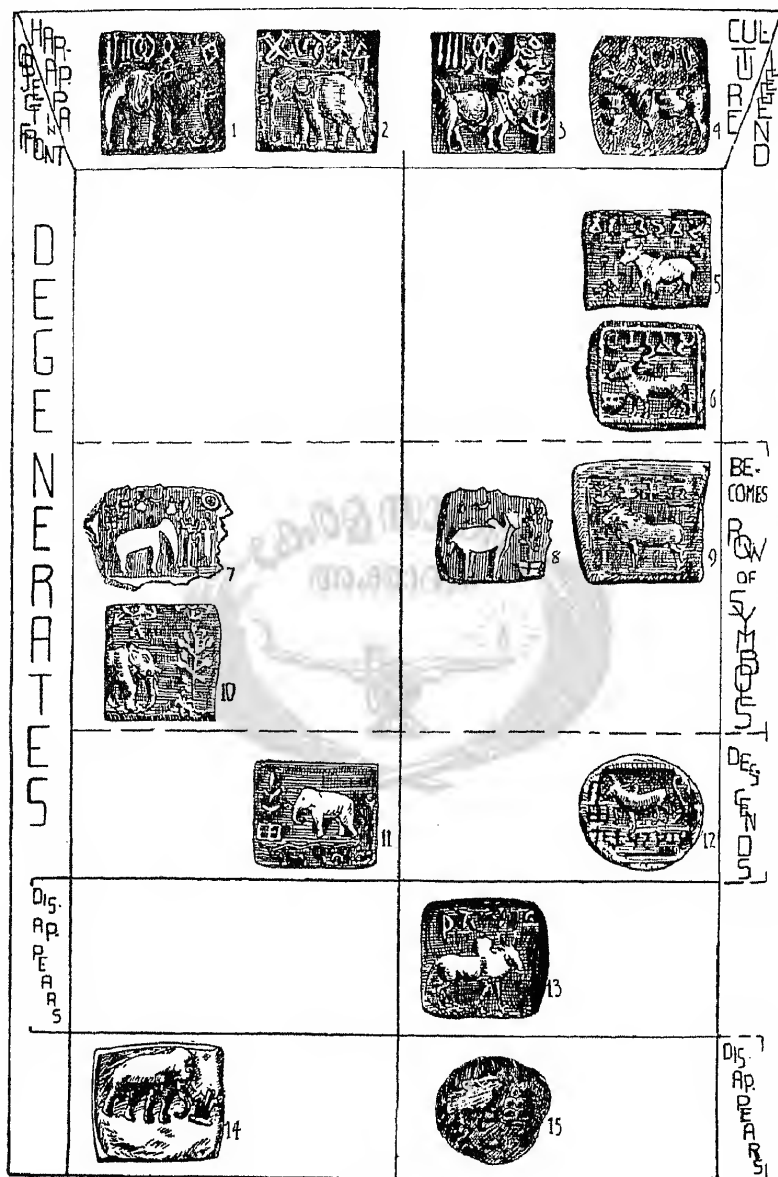


Fig. 1.

is more striking, they occur together in almost all the Harappa seals. A combination of as many as six features may not be expected to materialise

15. See Appendix 2,

again independently ; at any rate, we do not know that it recurs till over two thousand years elapse.

From about the third century B.C. we have a series of coins and seals, occurring in various parts of India from the north-west to the extreme south, which embody many of the features found in the seals of the Harappa culture. So, they call for an enquiry as to whether they bear any relationship to the seals. Only one of the coins (Fig. 1 : 6) reproduces all the characteristics of the seals ; the others depart in some measure from the norm. A few of the coins (Fig. 1 : 5, 7, 11) become rectangular ; another coin (Fig. 1 : 9) deviates somewhat from the square shape, and yet another (Fig. 1 : 12) becomes circular, but the incuses in which the types and the legends are located are square. On a few coins (Fig. 1 : 8, 10, 11) the animals cease to overshadow the objects in front of them. On one of the objects, a seal, (Fig. 1 : 13), the object in front of the bull disappears altogether. In these and in other ways we find the coins falling away from the standard set up by the Harappa seals, and yet their similarity to the seals is indisputable as the general make-up remains essentially the same. The Harappa seals too are not of a stereotyped monotony : they vary sometimes from the norm, as where an animal faces left (Fig. 1 : 2, 4) instead of right, as is generally the case, or a plant is substituted (Fig. 1 : 3) for the 'standard' or 'incense-burner', which is the object found almost invariably in front of the 'urus bull', or a 'trough' is provided for an elephant (Fig. 1 : 1) contrary to practice. So, the deviations of the coins from the norm might even be traceable to variations among the seals themselves. Confirmation of this conjecture is furnished by one of the coins (Fig. 1 : 10) bearing, not a legend, but symbols which are almost exact copies of a symbol occurring on a sealing at Harappa¹⁶. The coins might really have taken up the deviations already present in the seals and continued and, perhaps, elaborated them.

Coins of this class imitate other seals besides those bearing the elephant and the urus bull. The seals on which the majestic Brahmani bull appears, with its expansive dewlap falling in attractive folds (Fig. 2 : 1) are copied, though distantly, by a coin on which the dewlap is given just emphasis (Fig.



Fig. 2.

2 : 2). The tiger that stands still on another group of seals (Fig. 3 : 1) gets transformed into a majestic lion on one series of coins (Fig. 3 : 2) and into

16. VATS, in *ASLAR*, 1929 : 77 : 32 (b : 10b).

a lion on the war-path on a few tiny squares of gold leaf (Fig. 3 : 3) which might have functioned as coins.

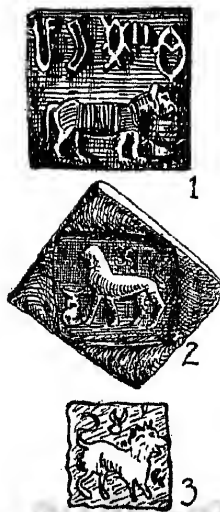


Fig. 3.

In far away Greece, and between about 540 B.C. and 400 B.C., there appear various issues of coins (Fig. 4) the reverses of which exhibit almost every feature that we have found to be characteristic of the Harappa seals. One issue (Fig. 4 : 1), for instance, reproduces every feature : another (Fig. 4 : 3) is quite similar, except for the occurrence of some lettering in place of the object in front of the animal : in a fourth (Fig. 4 : 4) the legend



Fig. 4.

and the object change places, and the animal is replaced by a bird which presents a head facing us from a body turned in profile. The variations are, however, too slight to obscure the close resemblance to the seals of Harappa.

Both these Indian and Greek series of coins are thus seen to bear close affinity to the seals of the Harappa culture. If we exclude, as we must, the hypothesis of re-discovery of assemblage and format more than two millennia later in two countries that lie far apart, we have to accept the probability of the characteristic features on the coins having been derived from a common source,—the Harappa seals.

It follows then that we have to discover how the link of connection could have arisen and could have subsisted in spite of the great gaps in time and in space. A clue seems to be furnished by another group of the Harappa seals, and by a seal found at Ur in Iraq and by yet another series of Greek coins (Fig. 5). On some of the Harappa seals a short-horned bull



Fig. 5.

is shown with the head twisted always to one side and also lowered towards a 'manger' in front. It stands as if it is in a fit of rage and is about to charge (Fig. 5 : 1). Indeed, this type of bull does not appear to be known to the Harappa culture except in the bellicose mood¹⁷. On a series of Greek coins issued about 440 A.D. and marked by the characteristics of format and assemblage already mentioned, the short-horned bull appears, just as on the Harappa seals and in a temper even more vicious (Fig. 5 : 2), though without the manger before it. On another series issued some twenty years later, the bull,—rather a man-bull,—is equally frantic, but faces a symbol, perhaps a Greek letter, which might be a substitute for the manger (Fig. 5 : 3). The deviations from the norm in these issues are, however, of no significance, for, the seals themselves exhibit variations such as the absence of the manger¹⁸. The similarity between the seals and the coins may therefore be

17. MACKAY, in MARSHALL, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 385.

18. MACKAY, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 326-7.

deemed to be quite close, even if no allowance is made for the changes effected by differences in time and place.

No explanation could account for so close a similarity except that of the Greek coins having received the characteristic features by way of inheritance, proximately or through intermediaries, from the Harappa seals. A seal of this class, embodying the special characteristics and also the butting bull, but with a cuneiform legend of about 3000-2600 B.C., in characters current among the Sumerians, instead of the inscription in the Harappa script (Fig. 5 : 4), has been found at Ur.¹⁹ A cuneiform legend would not have been incised on this seal if seals of the Harappa type had had no attraction for the people of Ur. This seal is not a solitary swallow in west Asia : 'seals of Indian origin are of almost frequent occurrence at the ancient Sumerian sites' ²⁰. The career of the seal from Ur is a commentary on what ought to have happened : seals of the Harappa type should have been imitated in Mesopotamia and in the countries around on account of their popularity ; descendants of the imitations,—probably of several removes,—should have preserved, in varying degrees, the characteristics of the original parents, and travelling further westward in the course of the ages, fallen into the hands of the die-sinkers of Greece and enchanted them into adopting them as patterns for coin devices.

While Greek coins, in the fully developed stage, were the products of the compression of small discs of metal between two circular dies each of which was engraved in intaglio, they were in the earliest stage produced by lumps of metal of the shape of beans being beaten into a circular die engraved in intaglio, the pressure being applied by a punch of irregular shape. The punch was neither large enough to cover the whole of the upper surface of the metal-lump nor was it garnished with an engraved device ; so, the impress which the punch left on the reverse of the coin was confined to such portion of its irregularly indented surface as struck the reverse. The square punch is the most effective of rectangular punches to beat a bean of metal into a die, and so the punch used for the early Greek coins became square in shape. Such unevennesses as there were in the surface of the punch left their impress on the reverse of the coin but in a square incuse, the punch being square. The occasional emergence of a design in the incuse from accidental combinations of the lines of unevenness must have suggested to the die-sinkers the idea of placing an attractive design in the square incuse. They must have looked for a square design for the square face of the punch, and, among those that presented themselves should have been designs derived from the Harappa seals. Thus must the Harappa patterns have been adopted on Greek coinage.

If this hypothesis represents even approximately the course of events, the relationship between the Greek and the Indian coins we have been considering is that of very remote agnates, who had even lost knowledge of the

19. SMITH, *Early His. of Assyria*, 49-50 : (3).

20. MACKAY, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 7.

common ancestry, and it cannot be that between direct ascendants and descendants. A very influential school holds that this class of Indian coins, which represents one of the two principal groups into which the earliest known Indian coinage falls, owes one feature at least,—the legend,—to Greek influence. The argument is that the earliest Indian coins do not bear legends, that the earliest Indian issues to bear legends are generally contemporary with, or even later than, the coins issued from 'about the beginning of the second century' B.C. by 'Alexander's Bactrian successors' on which legends are invariably present, their coinage being Greek in character, and that the contemporaneity testifies to a borrowing of the idea of the legend from the Greek models and that the idea could not but have been borrowed as Indian coinage had so rooted a repulsion to legends that though about a century earlier the Indian king Saubhūti (Sophytes), imitating the Greek coinage brought in by Alexander the Great, placed a Greek legend on his coins, the example stood rejected totally²¹. This view is open to a two-fold objection. The earliest known Indian coins to have a legend 'cannot be said to be later than the third century' B.C.²² A coin of Upagoda belongs to 'the late third century B.C.'²³ There has never been the least suggestion of any foreign influence having affected these issues. Legends occur along with types on an issue of Mathura of the 'late third century B.C.'²⁴ on an issue of Tripuri 'of the late third or early second century B.C.'²⁵, and on an issue of Kāḍa, 'probably of the latter half of the third century or early second century B.C.'²⁶ These are anterior to those Hellenistic issues that could have influenced the course of the development of Indian coinage. Moreover, it has yet to be explained why the borrowing should have been restricted to the legend. Why was not the Greek example followed more fully and why was not the circular shape adopted at least on the obverse, the human head or a bust accepted for type, and the type or symbol made to dominate the face of the coin, and the legend subordinated into a minor feature? The theory of Greek influence must find a reason for none of these developments having taken place.

Indian coinage had already settled down to a convention of which the features, including the legend, were well established, and if the Greek coinage offered itself as a model it stood unhesitatingly rejected till the Hellenic rulers of the frontier provinces of India started garnishing their issues with features of Indian origin. The theory of indebtedness to Greek models, formulated at a time when the chronology of Indian coins was unsettled and the Harappa seals were not understood to belong definitely to Indian culture, has now no validity, when the Harappa culture has been accepted as being definitely

21. See, for instance, RAPSON, in *Camb. His. India*, 1 : 61.

22. The copper coin of Dharmapala found at Eran : *Ib.*, 1 : 523, 538 : (5. 1), and ALLAN, *BM.CC. Ancient India*, (91) 140 : 18(6).

23. ALLAN, *BM.CC. Ancient India*, (145), 263 : 35(18).

24. *Ib.*, (108), 169 : 24(21).

25. *Ib.*, (140), 239 : 35 (14).

26. *Ib.*, (92), 145 : 19(14).

Indian in essence and is coming to be recognised as having contributed appreciably to the evolution of Indian culture. These Indian coins,—legend and all—are obviously descended from the Harappa seals and the patterns on the reverse of the Greek coins we have considered (Figs. 4, 5) are demonstrably derived from the imitations of the Harappa seals that had developed in the lands between India and Greece.

If we may judge by the Indian coin (Fig. 1 : 6) nearest to the Harappa seals, the Indian mint-master need not have used dies or punches, for he could have cast these coins into coupled matrices or moulds. If he had done so, he would have repeated exactly in metal what an artificer of Harappa would have done in clay had he sealed a purse by sewing it up with a string, and leaving both ends of the string loose brought them together, run the ends between two seals coupled so as to face each other, poured liquid clay in between and removed the seals when the clay had set hard. The Greek mint-master's technique, however, was different : his equipment at the start comprised an engraved matrix into which to drive the metal bean and a plain punch with which to drive it in, but he found in a little while that he was using a die and punch, both engraved. Obviously, the method employed for these Indian coins is much closer to the art of sealing than to the technique relied on for minting these Greek coins. The Indian method has not journeyed half as far from glyptic practice as the Greek method has done. It should therefore be quite justifiable to hold that, unless other factors had intervened, Indian coinage should have had a much earlier origin than the Greek, or even the Lydian, both of which had adopted a minting method different from sealing or stamping²⁷.

When the closeness of these Indian coins to the Harappa seals is considered a doubt arises whether the coinage could not have arisen in the life-time of the Harappa culture itself. The copper tablets bearing incised devices and inscriptions that have been found at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro do not seem to be coins for at least the reason that they fail to conform to any weight standard. Two further reasons may be urged against their being considered the prototypes of Indian coinage. The earliest known coinage in India models itself on the seal impression and its origins must go back to a series of tablets bearing device and legend in relief and not to a series bearing them incised. While neither the Harappa seals nor the early Indian coins bear any devices that are fanciful, the animals emblazoned on the copper tablets are creations of fancy, not infrequently. The tablets are therefore treated more appropriately as amulets than as coins.

27. The square format of the Harappa seal makes it possible to determine in advance the area of metal discs that each could cover. So, if the thickness of the discs could be kept constant, the weight of the discs could also be maintained at predetermined standards. A coinage turned out on a uniform weight standard would therefore have been easier of achievement in a land where square seals were in vogue than in regions where cylinder seals making impressions not exactly determinable in length were popular. See Appendix 3.

III. A FEATURE OF INDIAN AND PARTHIAN COINAGES

Another series of early Indian coins (Fig. 6 : 7) which was issued about the 1st century B.C., and is therefore approximately contemporary with the other Indian issues referred to already, shares with them the special characteristics observed on the Harappa seals, except that in this series of coins the type rises to its full stature and takes pride of place on the face of the coin, and the legend runs along two continuous margins of the coin turning the corner at almost a right angle. Both these variations are present also on two of the Harappa seals (Fig. 6 : 1, 2),—the legend running on both of them along two continuous margins and even taking a short turn along a third, and the type on one of them rising into the upper half. Another seal (Fig. 6 : 3), coming from a different place, Chanhudaro, and being probably



Fig. 6.

the product of a transition from the Harappa culture to the immediately succeeding culture of Jhukar, exhibits a type which, though probably dividing into two sections, is prominent on the coin-face, and a legend which running along one margin turns at right angles and runs along a second. The seals and the coin may therefore be taken to embody features that are almost identical²⁸. No seals or coins of other countries betray these features till we get to the coin issues of the early Achaemenids of Parthia : a coin (Fig. 6 : 4) of about 235 B.C., round in shape, has for type the figure of a man seated on some piece of furniture, but surrounding it on three sides is a legend which runs up straight, then turning at a right angle runs straight and across, and turning once more at a right angle runs straight and down. This peculiar course of the legend suggests strongly that though the circular shape of the coin did not deter the die-sinker's mind from working within the ambit of a square incuse and from running the legend along its margins, his hand had not the firmness, however, to trace the outlines of that incuse.

28. Another seal from Harappa 'is peculiar in having no animal device but a long inscription which occupies two whole sides of the square and most of the third': SMITH & GADD, in MARSHALL, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 411.

There can be little doubt but that the Harappa seals were the models, remote or proximate, which the Achaemenid die-sinker had in mind. Another notable example of this style is a coin (Fig. 6 : 5) of Eucratides, a Hellenist king of Bactria and north-west India in the earlier half of the 2nd century B.C., which is square in form and bears a legend along three contiguous margins, each section being at a right angle to its neighbour, but the type is a bust of the king. A third example is a square coin (Fig. 6 : 6) issued by the last Greek king of Bactria, about 150 B.C., on which the type is an elephant in profile enclosed in by a legend running continuously along three margins of a square incuse : the resemblance to the Harappa seals is marred but slightly by the type being lifted into the upper half and by the trough before the elephant (*cf.* Fig. 1 : 1) being varied in shape to resemble a Greek character and being placed below the animal²⁹. The Parthian, the Bactrian and the Indian coins would thus seem, in respect of the features marked out as special, to have followed closely the pattern-tradition set by the Harappa seals.

IV. SOME PLAQUES FROM CEYLON

In Ceylon have been found a series of small plaques, (Fig. 7 : 4) made of some brittle alloy, on which there are designs on both faces in low relief. On the obverse is an oblong frame, 'slightly rounded at the corners, in which stands a woman clad in a broad girdle', who 'with her hands, which are pendent, grasps two stalks of the same plant, usually springing' from the level of her feet 'and ending about the level of the shoulders in a small



Fig. 7.

blossom, upon each of which stands a small elephant holding a water-pot in his upturned trunk, the two trunks forming an arch over her head'³⁰. On the reverse, the principal object is a svastika raised aloft on a column stand-

29. The Greek letter is not too far away from the spot at which the trough is on the Harappa seal (Fig. 1 : 1).

30. CODRINGTON, *Ceylon Coins*, 27.

ing on a base from which rise two short stumps on each side, and the subsidiary objects are some early symbols. The figure on the obverse has been appropriately identified as that of 'Gaja-Lakṣmī',—the Goddess Śrī or Lakṣmī being given a ceremonial bath (lustration) by elephants,—and the svastika on pole on the reverse has been, with equal justness, recognised to be but a variant of the *motif*, common enough in early Indian art, of a symbol, often a tree, standing upright but enclosed within a railing. Specimens have been found associated with antiquities believed to be assignable to the 2nd century B.C.³¹,—and this date is not unacceptable for the plaques on the basis even of the style of the designs on them.

A peculiarity of these plaques arrests our attention. In the very interesting examples we have of sculptures of Gaja-Lakṣmī at Sanchi, Bharhut and Bodhi-Gaya and at Udayagiri, (Fig. 10) of about the 2nd and the 1st centuries B.C., we do not come across even one specimen in which the goddess stands strictly constricted within the outlines of a narrow oblong. Close parallels to the figure and to the frame are hard to find among Indian antiquities : the nearest approximation seems to be found on a terra cotta 'sealing' or amulet found at Harappa (Fig. 7 : 1), of much the same size as the plaques, on one face of which stands a human figure in a narrow embrasure provided by a tendril or creeper or long and slender bough, with leaves all along, which springs from the level of the feet of the figure, rises above the head, turns into an arch to the rear, and descends to the level from which it starts. The unusual frame of bough and leaves makes the enclosed figure look like a deity 'standing in a shrine.' The denizen of the embrasure on the amulet is just as slim as the occupant of the frame on the plaque, and both of them seem to stand out in just the same degree of low relief. A second amulet (Fig. 7 : 2) bears a figure in a frame which is not equally clear, but in the shape and the general style there is resemblance between it and the other amulet and the plaque. Another plaque (Fig. 7 : 3) shows a Gaja-Lakṣmī with 'a thin circular oval circlet round and over the head, springing from the shoulders',³² looking almost a nimbus,³³ which emphasises the similarity of the plaques to the amulets. If the obverses of the plaques suggest similarity to the amulets the reverses seem to confirm the similarity. While the reverse of the first of the plaques (Fig. 7 : 4) bears a few symbols, one of them more prominent than the rest, the reverse of the first of the amulets (Fig. 7 : 1) 'is inscribed with three pictographs'. But, as we have found that the row of symbols which runs as a legend on the early Indian coins (for instance, Fig. 1 : 7-10) is but a variant of the inscription of undeciphered hieroglyphics on the square seals, we have good reason to suspect that the symbols on the reverse of the plaque are, in essence, not dissimilar to the pictographs on the reverse of the amulet. Two other 'sealings' found at Harappa (Fig. 7 : 5-6) which are similar in shape and style to the plaques,

31. PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, 462.

32. *Ibid.*, 454 : 154 (2).

33. CODRINGTON, *Ceylon Coins*, 29 : 2(23).

bear each a large acacia tree, with a platform or railing round the base. The significance of this device would be lost on us if we did not recollect that it is a symbol very common on early Indian coins and also in sculpture contemporary with the coins (for instance, Fig. 9 : 2). A fifth amulet, again from Harappa, shows on each of its two faces, 'a standard similar to those found under the heads of animals in the seals with the unicorn ('urus bull') device',—an object which has some cult associations,³⁴—but dissimilar in that the 'standard' on the obverse stands so high on its pole that it would seem to tower to a height of over fifteen feet, if we may attach any weight to the circumstance that less than a third of the length of the amulet seems to be allotted to the figure of the man, who appears to be functioning as standard bearer (Fig. 7 : 7). A two-fold similarity would seem to link this 'standard' on the amulet with the svastika on post on the plaque : both rise high on a pole, and both are cult-objects.

These amulets and the plaques are thus found to exhibit certain similarities. They agree in shape ; the human figures look almost alike ; they stand enclosed in a narrow oblong ; the relief is not pronounced ; the trees and svastikas on the reverses are cult-objects. The principal difference is the presence, on the plaques, of a pair of tiny elephants perched on tiny lotuses, the stalks of which have to descend almost imperceptibly till they reach the hands which the figure holds at the level of the hip. But elephant and lotus and stalk are almost inconspicuous, and so they do not tend to destroy the general similarity between plaque and amulet. Perhaps, the long and thin objects hanging indistinctly from the hands of the figure on one of the Harappa amulets (Fig. 7 : 2) suggested the stalks, and the arch over the head of the figure was produced by the quartering of the elephants with up-raised trunks in the two top corners of the oblong.

Once we agree that the elephant and the lotus with its stalk might have been suggested by features on the Harappa amulet itself, the kinship between the Harappa amulet and the Ceylon plaque stands fully established. The similarities are striking : even the difference is probably due to a suggestion by the amulet to the plaque. The Ceylon plaque is thus a direct descendant of the Harappa amulet.

V. ORIGIN OF THE BUDDHA IMAGE : THE PROBLEM

The most important of the seals of the Harappa culture so far brought to light is the one that shows a figure with three faces, seated in the attitude of a Yogī and surrounded by a group of four animals,—an elephant and a tiger on its right, and a rhinoceros and a buffalo on the left (Fig. 13 : 2). These features have suggested the identification of this figure with Śiva, as Paśu-pati, 'Lord of cattle'.³⁵ On the pedestal on which this figure is seated is carved, on the right, the figure of a deer 'regardant', and, on the left, where the pedestal is broken, we have traces of carvings of horns exactly similar, in shape and position, to those of the deer on the right : the inference is

34. MARSHALL, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 69.

35. *Ib.*, 52-6.

therefore justified that the pedestal bore originally a pair of deer. The presence of this pair of deer on the pedestal has invited comparison with the occurrence of these animals, often in similar pairs, not only at the feet of Śiva in images of him as Dakṣiṇāmūrti which are common from about the 6th century A.D., but also beneath the Buddha's throne in scenes representing his preaching of the first sermon.³⁶ But the similarity is not confined to this one feature : it extends further than has been realised. One important type of the Buddha image is descended from the Harappa culture.

The origin of the Buddha image has been a puzzle in Indian archæology. In the sculptures of Sanchi and Bharhut, which are practically the earliest of Indian antiquarian remains,—those of the Harappa and the associated cultures being, of course, excepted,—the Buddha was never figured anthropomorphically, even though sculpture had advanced far enough to be able to depict men and women and gods and goddesses with great success, and only symbols associated with the Buddha were employed. All of a sudden, however, the practice of representing him in human form seems to appear, just within a century or two after the sculptures of Sanchi and Bharhut. Of the influences native to the country in that age none insisted on iconolatry as a test of faith, and of the cultures that had by then flowed into the country the most important and active was the Greek, which, it is needless to say, was accustomed to endow its gods with the beauty of the human form in its perfection. The temptation has, therefore, been irresistible to impute the origin of the image of the Buddha to the Greek contact : indeed, the Apollo of Greek art has been impressed into service as the parent of a Buddha type,³⁸ in spite of the all too obvious differences between Apollo and the Buddha as personalities. The confident assertion has been made that the basic 'idea of representing the founder of Buddhism as a man... originated, not with India, but with Greece' and that 'it was the one great mark which the Greeks set upon India.'³⁸ It is claimed that the theory has been really necessitated by the absence of a prohibition in the Buddhist scriptures against the Buddha being worshipped in the shape of a human being. It is argued that there being no interdiction in the Buddhist faith, and there being no incapacity in the Indian sculptor, to picture man, woman and godling, the Buddha image should have materialised fairly

36. *Ib.*, 55.

37. TARN, *Greeks in Bactria & India*, 408. He comments thus on the phenomenon : 'Something took place which is without parallel in Hellenic history : Greeks of themselves placed their artistic skill at the service of a foreign religion, and created for it a new form of expression in art. But this was due to an Indianisation of the Greeks', and 'the art of Gandhara was born of Buddhist piety utilising Yavana technique' : *Ibid.*, 393.

38. It is admitted that the Greek Buddha 'went no deeper than their Apollo ; he was just a beautiful man : you may search these suave faces in vain for what should have been there, the inner spirit of the great Reformer.' Indeed, the admission is quite ample : 'in the great Buddhas of the Gupta period we get a spiritual quality in the Indian conception of the Divine which could not have arisen in a school based upon' the 'classical tradition' of Greece. See TARN, *Ibid.*, 405.

early had it not been for a feeling in the mind of the Indian sculptor that his art was unequal to the task of depicting the physical lineaments of a personality of such ineffable grace as the Buddha.³⁹

This contention has been sought to be reinforced by additional arguments. While 'idolatry is a handmaid of polytheism with personal deities' the Indian atmosphere of the days preceding the Buddha was 'agnosticism, which is not favourable to image worship':⁴⁰ the ritualism of the late Vedic times was 'frankly agnostic':⁴¹ such 'shrines' as were dedicated to Yakṣas were no more than trees:⁴² the bhakti-mārga had much less of a vogue than the jñāna-mārga;⁴³ even the bhakti cults represent a 'monotheism pervaded by pantheistic ideas'⁴⁴ and so 'the monotheism of the bhakti-mārga is not also quite favourable to image worship, for the Bhagavat of the bhakta is not a fully personal, but a semi-personal being':⁴⁵ the earliest of the Buddhist monuments bearing sculptures are those of Sanchi and Bharhut and they date from the second and the first centuries B.C., when the inhabitants of eastern India had come in contact with the image worshipping and artistic Greeks of Bactria and the contact 'must have given a strong impulse to the indigenous sculpture of eastern India':⁴⁶ sculptures became popular and 'the first step of image worship' was taken when 'super-human beings' like 'the Devatas, Yakṣas and Nāgas are figured as worshippers of Buddha' while 'the main object of worship, Buddha, is not figured':⁴⁷ the art of sculpture developed rapidly and 'as a consequence . . . image worship had obtained too strong a grip of the Indian imagination to be avoided'⁴⁸ and so the Buddha too was represented in images.

This view has been countered in a number of ways. One line of argument has been that 'there existed neither an incapacity (the same sculptors represented the Buddha freely as a human being in previous incarnations) nor an interdiction (for nothing of the kind can be found in Buddhist literature)', that 'the Bhagavata cults of Yakṣas and Nāgas' which are anterior to that of the Buddha 'yielded', probably under the stress of the teaching of the *Bhagavad Gītā*, 'a work that must have been composed perhaps about the fourth century B.C.',—that is, almost immediately after the Buddha,—'to the Bhagavata cults of Viṣṇu and Buddha', that sculptures of the yogi, meditating or expounding, and of divinities in a 'symmetrical stance', contemporary with the sculptures in which the Buddha is not represented as a human being, furnished the models for the Buddha's image when it came to be fashioned, that 'we have only to look at a sequence of examples beginning with the Parkham image and culminating in the Mathura types of the Gupta period to realise that there is no room at any point in the development for the intercalation of any model based on Hellenistic tradition', that, in any event, an

39. See, for instance, FOUCHER, *L'Art Bouddhique du Gandhara*, 1 : 612.

40. CHANDA, in *J. Cal. Uni., Dep. Letters*, (1920) 3 : 229.

41. *Ibid.*, 230-1.

42. *Ibid.*, 232-6.

43. *Ibid.*, 229-30.

44. *Ibid.*, 241.

45. *Ibid.*, 242.

46. *Ibid.*, 239.

47. *Ibid.*, 239.

48. *Ibid.*, 242.

indigenous school of sculpture at Mathura, in which there is not the faintest suspicion of Greek influence, did in fact produce images of the Buddha before the Greek spirit began hovering over the waters of Indian art and that this is but natural as 'every element essential to the iconography of Buddha and Bodhisattva figures appears in early Indian art before the Buddha figure of Gandhara or Mathura is known.'⁴⁹ A second line of reasoning, lifting the discussion to levels other than the merely archæological, has been that 'the aniconic character of Vedic ritual and early Buddhist art' was 'a matter of choice' not understandable by us who have failed to 'relegate to an altogether subordinate place our predilection for the human figure' for images 'inherited from the late classical cultures', that the devotee in need of an 'image to serve as the support of . . . contemplation' entertained 'a mental image of the Buddha' which he fashioned, not on the basis of any portrait but in accordance with 'the old list of lakṣhanas, or thirty-two major and eighty minor iconographic peculiarities of the Great Person', that in doing so he was merely following an ancient Indian tradition of making an image, not as 'a reflection of anything that has been physically seen' but as 'an intelligible form or formula', that, thus, the devotee saw 'the Buddha in the image rather than an image of the Buddha', that such symbolism, being 'a precise form of thought', helped to a better apprehension of the Buddha than an image which is a mere portrait, and that if in India the intellectual has always preferred the use of abstract and algebraical or vegetable or theriomorphic or even natural symbols it is because he thinks it 'more fitting that divine truths should be expounded by means of images of a less, rather than a more, noble type in themselves', and that, even if it were not so, the fashioning of the image of the Buddha in human form 'may have been itself much rather a concession to intellectually lower levels of reference than any evidence of any increased profundity of vision.'⁵⁰ So, the tendency to abandon symbolism and to adopt a human likeness for the image of the Buddha need be nothing more than an indigenous development, and, in any event, Greek culture cannot plume itself on it as an achievement for which credit is due to it. Yet another line of argument has been that there did really happen to be a canonical impediment to the fashioning of an image of the Buddha in the human shape, that the prohibition was but the result of a 'consistent belief in all Vedic and post-Vedic thought that the Immeasurable One could never be caught within the limits of measured lineaments', that the Buddha having declared that 'on the dissolution' of his body, beyond the end of his life, neither gods nor men shall see him, the Buddhist artist 'could never think of attempting to render in visible form one who has passed into the realm of Invisibility',

49. COOMARASWAMY, in *Art Bulletin*, 9 (4) : 8-29.

50. COOMARASWAMY, in a paper, 'The Nature of Buddhist Art', in ROWLAND, Jr., *Wall Paintings of India, Central Asia and Ceylon*. This paper, showing how such problems 'are not in reality those of Buddhist art in particular, but rather those of Indian art in a Buddhist application, and in the last analysis the problems of art universally,' is a brilliant elucidation of many aspects of iconolatry.

and that when the Buddhist felt the need for a more 'cosy support for contemplation' than the symbols of early Buddhist art an image of the Buddha was 'immediately formulated' at Mathura 'on the models of earlier non-human and superhuman types (Yakṣas, Devas, Cakravartins)'.⁵¹

Out of the pros and the cons thus stated, the points that look as if they are essential to a decision on whether the Buddha image is due to Greek example would appear to be whether in the early history of Indian thought the tendency to agnosticism was so pervasive as to exclude a faith in theism, whether pantheism was so active as to sterilise monotheism, whether 'the Bhakti cult represents a late stage,—and probably a foreign element,'—in Indian religious history,⁵² whether anthropomorphism was practically unknown in India before the Buddha, whether it required the Greek love of sculptured deities to translate divinities conceived of as philosophical abstractions into icons cast in human shape, whether the Buddha is presented in the form in which the Greeks represented their gods and whether the iconographic formulae for images of the Buddha are not derivable from Indian sources or are accountable more appropriately in terms of Greek modes of thought and worship.

None of these considerations, however, is of real importance in arriving at a final solution. So monotheistic and so personal a faith as is embodied in Christianity has given rise to two contrary modes of worship,—the Catholic, resting on image worship, and the Protestant, repudiating images. The devotion preached by certain schools of Christianity is no whit less intense than Bhakti and yet those schools condemn iconolatry in unmeasured terms. Not less monotheistic or personal is the faith which Muhammad preached and yet the breaking of images is a phenomenon under Islam. Not all the Greek devotion to the gods nor all the Greek passion for sculpture led to the growth of so full a faith in image worship as is characteristic of certain strains of Hindu thought. Never did image worship, however, become an article of faith to the Hindu votary of Bhakti who clings to a very personal god, and never has it been to him anything other than one of the several ways of a religious quest. The worship of an impersonal divinity culminates in the veneration of symbols like the *liṅga*, and so in idolatry. Even when the devotion is to a personal god the object of veneration is not necessarily an anthropomorphic image, for it might be a symbol such as the *liṅga* or a stone such as a *sālagrāma*. The agnostic who has risen superior to faith in mascots and fetishes is a *rara avis*. An inclination to agnosticism among the intellectual elite of an age does not mean that church-bells cease to ring congregations in, that Sunday black is not worn and that sermons are not endured even though they be long. Buddhism itself shows how the Buddha who ignored god did still sanction belief in godlings such as those who tenanted the Vajjian *cetiya*s

51. GANGOLY, in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 14 : 41-59.

52. 'Indeed, it rather looks as if Bhakti, generally speaking, may have been partly the reaction of the Indian mind to, or against the foreign invasions, Persian and Greek': TARN, *Greeks in Bactria & India*, 406.

and enjoin veneration of them,—and very probably in the form of images,—and also permitted the placing of faith in holy places such as *tīrthas* whose waters are sacred.^{52a}

A more profitable line of enquiry would, therefore, seem to be that of determining how Buddhist faith expressed itself in sculpture in the age when the Buddha came to be figured and worshipped. The forms in which the Buddha is represented and the *motifs* in which the representations are embodied are more likely to point to a valid solution than argument from 'first principles.'

VI. THE CULTS BEHIND THE IMAGE

To determine whether images of a deity in human shape could not have been earlier in India than the contact with the Greeks and whether they could not have been the forebears of the images of the Buddha, we have to obtain an idea of the cults which by the age of Greek influence had already secured a vogue in Buddhism and in the faiths in the midst of which Buddhism arose. The earliest Buddhist remains which enable us to get an insight into the variety and the character of those cults and of the manner in which the anthropomorphic image came to be accepted as an object of worship are the sculptures that adorn the Buddhist stupas. They are worthy of study for the light they throw directly or indirectly on the antiquity of the beliefs they illustrate.

We need say little about the cults of the symbol, the relic and the funeral mound in Buddhism, for, the worship of Wheel and 'Nandipada over Circle' as symbols, of the Buddha's head-dress and begging-bowl and bones as relics, and of stupas as funeral mounds are all expressed so unambiguously in sculptures and in literary records that there is no mistaking their character. But Buddhism is known to have adopted other cults also from almost the beginning of its history and they require to be traced and compared if their bearing on the genesis of the Buddha image is to be determined.

A piece of sculpture from the Buddhist stupa of Bharhut (Fig. 8 : 1) shows a platform under a spreading tree and four animals on each side. No god has stationed himself on the platform, but his presence is felt none the less for his being physically absent. An inscribed label calls it a representation of 'the shrine at Migasammata where animals rejoice together'. The shrine is not shown in the sculpture, nor the god of the shrine, but both the shrine and the god have been subtly sensed by the animals who have trooped in to pay their devours, and they were undoubtedly imagined in the scene by the sculptor. In a second piece of sculpture (Fig. 8 : 2), also from Bharhut, a tree and a platform under it are worshipped by two pairs of devotees, one pair standing under the tree and another pair bowing at the platform : the only difference between this and the previous piece is that human beings are substituted in this for animals. No label is required to tell us that here too the presence of a god has to be felt and inferred. The platform in these two sculptures may equally well represent a seat for the

52a. He enumerates the *tīrthas* in *Majjima Nikāya*, 7.

deity of the scene or an altar for laying offerings upon for the deity, but the Buddhist sculptor treated it as a seat, at least for the purposes of the iconography of the Buddha, for, within a century or two of the Bharhut stupa the Buddha is shown in sculptures as a divinity seated on a low dais under a great tree.

A rather late piece of sculpture from Mathura (Fig. 8 : 3), being one half of a panel, depicts a tree,—railed in because of its sacredness and protected by what seems to be a huge tongue of leaping flame,—and also a

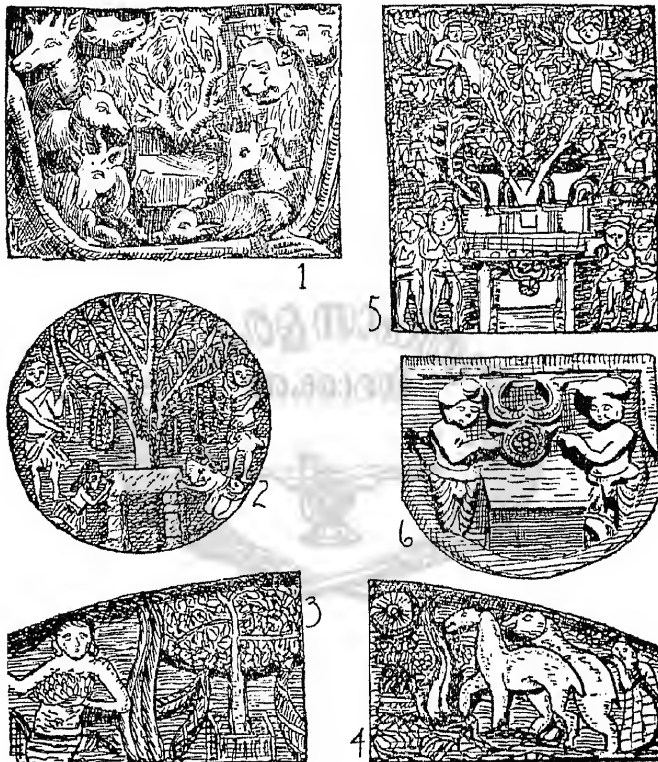


Fig. 8.

winged deity or spirit to the left of the tree, in an attitude suggestive of veneration. If the panel was complete it would have contained a repetition of the tongue of flame and the winged godling to the right of the tree.

Another piece from the same place and of the same date (Fig. 8 : 4) pictures a wheel on a pillar,—also protected by a great tongue of flame,—being worshipped by two camels and two men who have ranged themselves on one side in single file. This piece too being broken like the other, the full panel would have similarly shown a row of animal and human devotees on either side of the wheel on the pillar. The object in the middle of the group is a symbol,—a wheel,—which having at an earlier stage in Indian thought come to be

associated with 'righteousness' or 'Dharma', was adopted by the Buddhists to represent the doctrine of the Buddha.

The three sculptures depicting the worship of a tree or of a tree with a platform at its foot (Fig. 8 : 1-3) may exemplify three different cults,— firstly a tree-cult in which the tree itself is the object of devotion because of the benefits it confers, secondly a tree-spirit-cult in which the tree receives worship as the visible representation of an invisible spirit, and thirdly a haunt-cult in which the tree is adored, not because it is a tree nor because it represents a spirit, but because it is the *milieu* in which a deity chooses to appear or has appeared now and again. Any scene which a deity visits being its haunt, a tree under which the deity promenades or seats itself is also one : the deity is neither the tree itself nor a manifestation of the tree, and its association with the tree need be no more than 'terminable at will'. None of these modes of representing the tree is therefore explicit as to which of the three cults it exemplifies. We cannot resolve the doubt, for Buddhism encouraged all the three cults. The third of these pieces (Fig. 8. : 3) illustrates only one of the numerous variations on the theme of the haunt ; the winged being was perhaps introduced to lay emphasis on the deity of the haunt having had so universal an appeal that not even creations of the fancy were exempt from the urge to worship it. The lateness of this piece shows also that the formula of picturing only the haunt continued to be in vogue even after the deity had come to be delineated in its haunt.

But these pieces may also depict what may be called a spot-cult. They might have been intended to represent, directly or remotely, the sanctity of the spot at which the Buddha achieved enlightenment or from which he set the wheel of the Dharma rolling, for these spots became two of the holiest places of Buddhism. Buddhism furnishes numerous proofs of the popularity of the practice of venerating spots at which significant events occurred. We may cite by way of example the spots where the Buddha was born, where he had the first bath, where in his flight from the worldly life he halted his horse to take a last look at the capital of the kingdom which he was renouncing, where he cut off his hair and cast it off, where a grass-cutter gave him grass with which to make a seat at the foot of the tree under which he achieved enlightenment, where on the enlightenment he seated himself and kept gazing at the spot of that enlightenment, where he preached his first sermon, where he converted Uruvela Kassapa, where he taught his father, where on his return from the heaven of the thirty-three gods to which he had gone to proclaim his doctrine his right foot touched the earth, and where on his death his relics were divided among his followers for interment. All these spots became invested with sanctity and memorials were raised at them all. Even in the days before the advent of the Buddha, when only Buddhas in the making were manifesting themselves, the practice was not unknown : stupas were erected at the spots where a Bodhi-sattva held a conversation and wherefrom he disappeared. Even spots that evoked unpleasant recollections acquired significance : Vattagamani-Abhaya, one of the kings of Ceylon, built a monastery,

the Sōmārāma, on the spot where one of his queens had seen an indelicate act being enacted, and he built another at the spot where, when fleeing from his Tamil antagonists, he had received an insult. We know that, in later times, memorials were raised at a spot where a tiger was stabbed⁵³ and at another where a devotee severed his head with his sword and 'got it back'.⁵⁴ We are also told that a king, Narendra, who fought a hundred and eight battles, set up a temple on each battle field.⁵⁵ Thus, the spot where anything important occurred became worthy of note and the spot where any act of faith was enacted became sacred. But, how could the sanctity of the spot be delineated in sculpture? How, for instance, was the sculptor to depict the holiness of the spot where the Buddha had achieved enlightenment? The Buddha could not have been shown in the scene, for, to have done so would have been to divert attention from the spot to the person. The most appropriate,—if not the only possible,—mode of depicting the spot as worthy of veneration was to picture the tree itself, and probably to add a seat below and enclose it with a railing (as in Fig. 8 : 3). The only practicable mode of indicating the spot from which the Wheel of the Dharma was set rolling by the Buddha is to depict a scene in which the Wheel occupies pride of place (as in Fig. 8 : 4) : to depict the Buddha in the scene would be to emphasise the Buddha and to ignore the spot.

We have two other types of representation (Fig. 8 : 5, 6) in which a symbol,—a 'Nandipada over Circle' here,—occupies the place of honour and receives veneration. A very simple piece from Bodh Gaya (Fig. 8 : 6) shows a 'Nandipada over Circle', perched at the very edge of a seat, being worshipped by a devotee on either side. By way of contrast we have a fine panel from Sanchi (Fig. 8 : 5) in which is shown a huge tree with branches spreading far and wide but enclosed and, in some measure, protected by a shrine built around it : at the foot of the tree is a seat and in the middle of the seat is the symbol of 'Nandipada over Circle', and human worshippers stand on either side in the attitude of veneration. Here is a combination of the two modes we have already come across : a tree, a seat, and a symbol are all put together, and even a shrine is added.

Yet another cult,—that of the 'vestigium' or 'trace',—is known to have been accepted by Buddhism. The tale of the Buddha going up to the heaven of the thirty-three gods to preach his creed and returning to the terrestrial scene of his ministry is illustrated in a panel at Bharhut (Fig. 9 : 1) which shows a foot-print on the lowest rung of a triple ladder spanning heaven and earth and another foot-print on the top-most rung,—evidently, an abbreviated version of the long journey,—and the ladder itself is set beside a shrine enclosing a tree and a dais below it, and all around a surging crowd of devotees stands adoring. In this panel we have a complex of a tree and a shrine, but the special feature is the presence of the foot-print as an indication of the

53. *Epigraphia Indica*, 4 : 179.

54. *Ib.*, 5 : 260-1.

55. *Ib.*, 4 : 226. See also my *South Indian Portraits*, 43.

Buddha having journeyed by the ladder. In another panel (Fig. 9 : 2) from the same place, a platform,—or seat,—is shaded by an umbrella, and the imprint of a pair of feet carved below the platform is clutched at by a king



Fig. 9.

kneeling in the presence of a host of devotees and the platform itself bears three imprints of a hand incised clearly on it. The *vestigium manus* is not less sacred than the *vestigium pedis*, and both are figured here as objects of worship.^{55a}

The sculptures we have passed in review illustrate various cults which are found to have been accepted by Buddhism by even the age to which the early Buddhist monuments are ascribable. None of them is distinctly Buddhist and none of them acquired in Buddhism a significance which it did not have in other Indian faiths. Buddhism must therefore have acquired them by way of inheritance from the earlier cultures of the land, including possibly those that had intruded, stayed and become domiciled.

VII. CULT OBJECT BETWEEN ADORANTS

The sculptures in which we have found evidence of the acceptance by Buddhism of the cults current generally in the country are interesting for a second reason as well : they are cast in terms of an art formula, which goes very far back in history,—many centuries before the Buddha. The formula relates to the iconic presentation of an object that has been adopted as the centre of a cult. The cult-object—be it a divinity, or an object such as a tree, or a symbol such as a wheel,—is prominently placed in the middle of a composition and it is flanked on either side by a beast or a man rendering veneration to it. A fine panel (Fig. 10) from an early Jain monument is an excellent illustration of this formula, which may be called that of 'cult object between adorants.' The goddess Śrī, or Lakṣmī, stands as the central figure in a composition in which lotus buds and blossoms, elephants raising well-filled vessels with their trunks and emptying them on the goddess, and birds pecking at

55a. See Appendix 4.

lotus buds, are presented in pairs but disposed symmetrically on either side of the goddess.



Fig. 10.

The pattern occurs in its simplest form in the piece from Bodh Gaya (Fig. 8 : 6) which shows the 'Nandipada over Circle' being venerated by two adorants. In the representation of 'the shrine at Migasammata where animals rejoice together' (Fig. 8 : 1) the animals are shown divided, into two groups of four each, by the intervening tree and seat, but a rigid symmetry is avoided by introducing two lions into the company of six deer and by making the lions turn away from the tree and the seat. The pattern is almost obliterated when a number of cults are sought to be integrated, as in the scene from Sanchi (Fig. 8 : 5), in which the cults of the spot, the haunt, the tree and the shrine are all brought together within the narrow confines of the composition, and yet it is not difficult to see that the composition is but an elaboration of this formula.

The frequency with which the formula occurs in Buddhist sculptures incites us to ask wherefrom and when Buddhist art obtained the formula. We have too few specimens of the antecedent art of the country to be able even to venture on an explanation. Nor do we fare better when we turn to the sculptures themselves for a possible hypothesis. The various sculptures exhibiting the formula being but elaborations of a primary idea,—being but changes run on the basic *motif*,—it is possible to start with an assumption that it may not be difficult to trace an evolution from the simple pattern to the complex composition. The facts, however, afford no foothold for the assumption : indeed, the most complicated example (Fig. 8 : 5) is the earliest in point of date, and one of the simplest (Fig. 8 : 3) is one of the two latest. Nor is it to be assumed that the evolution was in the direction of either the adoption or the rejection of a symbol as the middle term in the formula : the 'Nandipada over Circle' appears in the earliest of the sculptures (Fig. 8 : 5) and the wheel in one of the latest. The sculpture which, to judge merely by closeness to a natural scene, would appear to be the earliest, is the one in which animals herd together under a tree (Fig. 8 : 1), but it does not belong to the earliest period of Buddhist art. The stages in which the simple *motif* of 'cult-object between adorants' developed into the complex forms illustrated by our examples refuse to fall into a chronological sequence. This must be due to the stages having been worked out long before the dates of the examples which we have now before us. Every stage of evolution

should have left a legacy, and the sculptors of Sanchi, Bharhut, Bodh-Gaya and Mathura, being the heirs to the legacies, should have accepted them all and utilised them without regard to the ages of the respective modes. This welter of modes becomes thus the most cogent testimony we can have to the Buddhist sculptors having taken over modes already ancient.

But, how much more ancient? No answer by way of even surmise is possible unless we go very far back in time to the Harappa age or we journey far off,—in space to western Asia and the shores of the Mediterranean, and in time to the period of the early cultures of those regions.

The *motif* of 'cult object between adorants' has an ancient history in the lands to the west of India and the cults which are found expressed in the form are varied.

A 'Mesopotamian' seal (Fig. 11 : 1), for instance, which is datable probably earlier than about 3000 B.C., shows in the middle a pair of serpents entwined and rising high, and a small flower further up, and a goat standing on either side of the serpents and facing them.⁵⁶ This pattern is 'not purely decorative': in the light of the culture of that area and that period, the 'group of animals and flowers' on the seal 'appears as a consistent reference to the god of fertility.'⁵⁷ But even this seal, early as it is, presents the *motif* in a complex form in which the ornamental interest is made to compete vigorously with the religious: the importance of the *motif* of the worship of a symbol of divinity by a pair of animals is challenged by that of two animals standing back to back and to no purpose. Another cylinder seal (Fig. 11 : 2), from Uruk and of about the same period, seems to find room for two places of honour and in each to locate a hillock with a tree rising from its crest: one of the trees is worshipped by a pair of goats standing on rocky ground, and the other tree, located between a pair of goats standing back to back, is worshipped by two other goats that fall towards each other. Evidently the artist of the seal felt that the securing of a second scene of worship was sufficient amends for the dividing of interest between two scenes. A Mitannian cylinder seal of about 1450-1400 B.C. (Fig. 11 : 3) incorporates three distinct designs, each of which, however, is an example of the formula: a wheel raised upon a pole is supported,—rather, worshipped,—by a pair of devotees: a divinity from whose face start forth beams of light is worshipped by a pair of winged beasts: a tree is worshipped by a pair of animals lying prone. This seal furnishes a concise illustration of the variety of designs that had sprung from the original pattern. A bird and an animal are also found in the seal, but we are unable to associate them with one or other of the three patterns to explain their occurring where they do. A signet ring, from Crete and almost of the same period (Fig. 11 : 4), shows a column standing high between regardant lions. The column, being hung with sacral scarves, is probably the representation of a deity. A fine seal, again from Crete and of equal antiquity (Fig. 11 : 5), depicts a 'rocky peak' on which a 'goddess

56. See Appendix 5.

57. FRANKFORT, *Cylinder Seals*, 178.

stands with her lion guardians',⁵³ and 'a male worshipper, here magnified to twice the proportions of the goddess, might, indeed, be supposed to include in his act of devotion the mountain peak and distant shrine,—a whole beatific



Fig. 11.

vision,—besides the actual divinity itself'. The lions in these two seals have their place beside the divinity in virtue of their devotion : they are so greatly

58. The 'lions are attached by short cords to the pillar that could be infused by due ritual with the essence of the divinity.' See next foot-note.

attached to the divinity that they impose on themselves the role of watchful guardians.

Even the earliest of these seals shows that the artist did not content himself always with one pattern : he put in more than one pattern,—there being three patterns in one seal. Often he made the second and third patterns almost equally important with the first in point of design, but they were not all equally significant. There were occasionally elements in the design which did not fit into the pattern or patterns. The religious basis of at least the principal design is indisputable. The central figure in the pattern may be a tree, a pillar, a wheel on a pole, an entwined pair of serpents or a divinity or other object which had a religious significance.

That these western seals bear designs which resemble those on the Indian sculptures we have been considering (Figs. 8, 10) is obvious. In the seals as well as in the sculptures the cult objects include divinities, trees, pillars and wheels on poles. What is more, the cult-objects are presented on all these in terms of one common formula. The similarity of the cult-objects and the identity of the art-pattern suggest that some at least of these Indian cults were much older than the sculptures in which they are found represented and that it is a mistake to date the origins of these cults and art forms in India merely by the dates of the remains now available to us.

We have very few remains surviving to us from the periods immediately preceding the age of the earliest Buddhist sculptures and so we have no



Fig. 12.

means of tracing back the history of the cults and of the formula we have been studying. A chronological journey backward from Buddhist sculptures and pre-Mauryan terra-cotta takes us through century upon century without bringing any antiquities to our view, and as we keep journeying we lose step by step such hopes as we might have had of coming across analogues to the cults and the formula. None the less, we do not go ultimately dis-

appointed, for at about 2600 B.C. we meet the material remains of the culture of Harappa and we get at least as much as we could have hoped for.

At Harappa, among remains attributable perhaps to the age to which better known antiquities belong, a bowl was found covering a funeral jar, and a band of scenes painted on the bowl includes two that are almost identical. In the more important of them 'a human figure with a bird's beak and wavy lines rising from his head' and holding 'a bow arrow in his left hand' has taken hold of two 'bovine' animals, one standing on either side of him and each facing the other, and he has 'secured them by the neck with ropes held in his hands and under his feet' (Fig. 12).⁵⁹ We do not know enough of the culture to be able to decide whether this human figure represents a divinity, but it is not unlikely that the composition conforms to the formula of 'cult object between adorants', or to another formula, similar at least in certain respects, which, aptly called the *motif* of 'hero subduing beasts', is very common in the art of western Asia.

But unambiguous examples of the former formula have come from Mohenjo-Daro. On an amulet found there (Fig. 13 : 1), a human figure

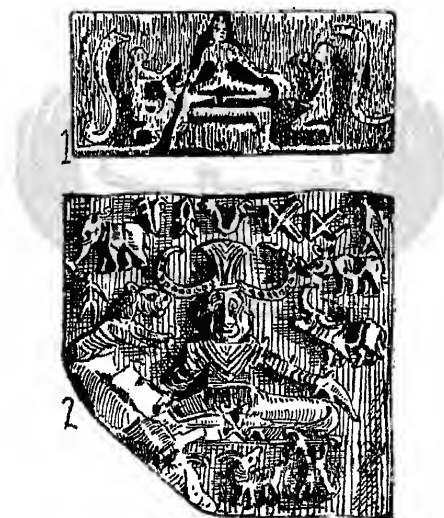


Fig. 13.

seated on a pedestal is flanked on either side by a figure, now indistinct with wear, which may be a human being or a god ending with a serpentine tail or may be a kneeling suppliant and a cobra behind him in a similarly suppliant pose. On another amulet from that place, which is perhaps from the same mould, we have a similarly seated human figure in the middle, and, on either

59. See now VATS, *Excavations at Harappa*, 207-8 : 62 (1b). Compare also the ropes in this painting with the cords in Fig. 11 : 4. It may be worth while asking ourselves whether they served similar purposes.

side, a kneeling worshipper with a serpent rising behind.⁶⁰ In the seal from the same place which has become famous for depicting Siva as 'Lord of Cattle' (Fig. 13 : 2) in the Harappa culture, Siva appears in the middle and the cattle are divided into two groups and ranged on either side of him with a rough approximation to symmetry. The symmetry is emphasised not only by the disposition of the deer in the pedestal and by the balance of the curves of the headgear, but also by the god being seated in a manner that brings out the bilateral symmetry of the human figure with startling effect. In these three objects we find what we missed in the painted scene from Harappa,—the suggestion that the human being in the middle is in all probability a personality with superhuman powers. And, in these three we find that the superhuman being occupies pride of place between devotees ranged on either side.

In the search for possible Indian precedents for the employment of the formula of 'cult object between adorants' we have come across examples in the Harappa culture which conform strictly to the formula. But all of them exhibit a human figure as the intermediate term, whereas in the Buddhist sculptures which we have so far studied (Fig. 8) the place of honour is either vacant or is occupied by a symbol, and not by a human being. If we could point to compositions in Buddhist sculpture, or in the art contemporary with it, in which a human figure occurs as the middle term in the formula we may have some reason for assuming the descent of the Buddhist specimen from the examples found in the Harappa culture.

Such sculptures are very popular in early Buddhism : for instance, the illustration of Śrī or Lakṣmī, expressed in the form now popularly known as that of Gaja-Lakṣmī (Fig. 10), is one of the most common scenes depicted in the monuments of the Buddhists, not to mention those of other Indian sects.

In sculptures that show the Buddha addressing a concourse of disciples assembled to venerate him, the devotees are often ranged so symmetrically on either side of him that it looks as if the composition of the groups was deliberately planned to conform to the formula we have been considering. Two pieces of sculpture, one from Amaravati (Fig. 15 : 2) and another from 'Gandhara' (Fig. 15 : 1) are fairly good examples of the application of the formula to the rendering of concourses of disciples. Such doubts as may still linger are dispelled when we look at the bases of these two sculptures : in the piece from Gandhara the wheel lifted aloft between the pair of regardant deer emphasises the character of the design,—the adherence to the formula,—and in the example from Amaravati the symmetrical placing of the recumbent deer serves, even in the absence of a symbol between them, to make it clear that the group of preceptor and pupils is fashioned on the basis of the formula. In another scene from Amaravati (Fig. 15 : 4) the Buddha is not depicted as seated on the throne in the middle, but the composition is so obviously on

60. MACKAY, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 362 : 103 (9).

the lines of the formula that the throne or the Wheel exalted on the pillar is likely to be mistaken to be the object of veneration, appearing as they do to occupy the centre of the picture.

This cult of a human figure between adorants has therefore to be traced back to the Harappa culture, it being the only antecedent Indian culture in which we find it to appear, unless it be that it is possible to show that other cultures intervened and that the borrowing was from one or other of them.

VIII. FROM PRECEPTOR TO IMAGE

It is clear that even the earliest material remains of Buddhism establish that within three centuries of the Buddha the Buddhists accepted quite a number of cults and that they also mixed them up variously and inextricably. Buddhist piety expressed itself in various forms,—in terms of quite a number of cults,—but none of them has a foundation in the fundamental tenets of Buddhism. It is difficult to see how the cult of the tree or of the haunt, for instance, could be related to the doctrines propounded by the Buddha, especially when we remember that in them there was no basis for faith in any divinity. Indeed, it is by no means easy to reconcile the non-deistic way of life preached by the Buddha with faith in a divinity's footprints. None of these cults was, however, peculiar to Buddhism. They were all current in India much earlier and there can be little doubt but that Buddhism was not able to escape from the tendencies of the environment in which it grew up. A few at least of them could be traced back to the Harappa culture. The cult of the *vestigium pedis* appears to have had a place in the Harappa culture.⁶¹ The tree-cult was certainly known at Harappa, as in the amulets showing the trees in railing (Fig. 7 : 5, 6), and in the lands far to the west of Harappa, more than two millennia before the Buddha, though it might not have had there all the signification it had in India. In the western seals the tree may not indicate anything more than a tree-cult : it may not also incorporate the spot and the haunt cults as the Indian sculptures seem to do. At any rate, there being no reason to believe that in western Asia the foot of the tree became a retreat for meditation—as it did in India, as will be alluded to presently⁶²—the haunt cult could not have already risen in western Asia in a form that could have suggested the Indian analogues. The growth of a special significance of a *motif* in India should not, however, blind us to the original similarity. Many of the other cults were known in west Asia and further west one millennium at least before the Buddha. They had even been jumbled up by then as badly almost as in early Buddhism. For example, the panel showing a symbol, the platform on which it is placed, the tree under which platform and symbol stand and the shrine within which they are all enclosed (Fig. 8 : 5), recalls to mind, in some measure, the syncretism of cults found in the Cretan seal (Fig. 11 : 5)

61. MACKAY, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 359 : 92 (12c).

62. See section X below.

of a worshipper making obeisance not only to the goddess who is the primary object of devotion but also to the hill,—the spot,—on which the goddess stands and to the shrine into which she may ceremoniously retire. The similarity extends even further : in the Cretan seal two lions have taken their stand on either side of the sacred hill and the goddess, not only as adorants but also as protecting guardians, just as in the Mathura sculptures (Fig. 8 : 3, 4), great tongues of fire leap up on either side to protect the tree or the wheel. All through the two millennia before the Buddha these cults were in western art expressed,—frequently, but not necessarily or exclusively,—in terms of the formula, 'cult object between adorants'. Divinities in human shape were also among the middle 'terms' in the formula. In Jain art as in the Buddhist, the various cults were often represented in conformity with the formula. The presumptions naturally arise that every form in which Buddhist piety expresses itself may be traced back to pre-Buddhistic sources, that every cult known to pre-Buddhistic India would have survived into Buddhism unless antagonistic to it and that these cults would have expressed themselves in terms of the formula.

If, therefore, the cult of the anthropomorphic image was not unknown in India before the days of Buddhism the presumption would be justified that it too would have survived into Buddhism and even found expression in terms of the formula.

The origin of the cult of the anthropomorphic image in India has been much debated, but there can now be no doubt, after the discovery of images such as that of Siva as Pasupati in the Harappa culture, and of the discovery that the Mother is represented in the terra cotta figurines of pre-Mauryan age found at ancient sites like Mathura, that the cult was widely received in pre-Buddhistic India. At about the time of the rise of Buddhism it is known from Pāṇini that at least Indra, Agni, and Śrī (or Lakṣmi) of the Vedic pantheon were represented in human form, and these gods and goddesses were ideas pictured in human shape. A temple to Kṛṣṇa and another to Pradyumna were in existence at Besnagar about 100 B.C., and a third to Saṅkarṣaṇa and Kṛṣṇa was in existence at Ghasundi in the second century B.C.⁶³ A temple at Mora is stated definitely, in the second half of the first century B.C., to have enshrined the images of Kṛṣṇa and the five Pāṇḍava brothers.⁶⁴ The images in these temples having had to be representations of men who from heroes had graduated into deities were inevitably in human shape. The coins of the Kushans issued almost immediately thereafter bore representations of Śiva in human form. Thus, anthropomorphic images were in general use as representations of not only ancient divinities such as Śiva, but also of other divinities arisen from abstractions and ideas, such as Indra, Agni and Śrī, and from a hero like Kṛṣṇa, who was identified with another ancient divinity, Viṣṇu. As it is only slowly and gradually that such images could have come into vogue, they must have been fairly ancient by the days of the Buddha.

63. CHANDA, *Archæology & Vaishnava Tradition*, 152, 161-4.

64. *Ibid.*, 166.

So, the worship of the Buddha in an image in the human form could be as old as the beginning of Buddhism,—the antecedent indigenous cults furnishing the incitement to the adoption of the anthropomorphic cult. But, no image of the Buddha appears in the two or three centuries immediately after him,—in those very centuries in which the outlines of his figure and the lineaments of his face should have been fresh in the memory. One cult alone out of the numerous pre-Buddhistic cults,—that of divinity in human form,—has not been accepted by the Buddhists of the days of Sanchi and Bharhut. This itself is a phenomenon that requires explanation.

But another circumstance equally demands explanation. The Buddhists of about a century after Sanchi and Bharhut accepted and utilised that cult gladly and within a short span of time the cult rose into general and swift popularity and attained to a fine perfection.

The problem stands out quite starkly. Why was the cult of divinity in human shape, which appears to have been accepted generally in India in even the days of Sanchi and Bharhut, rejected by the Buddhists of that age, and why was it accepted without demur, and even enthusiastically, by the Buddhists in the space of a century from then?

The panel showing the Buddha's journey to the heaven of the thirty-three gods (Fig. 9 : 1) is content with depicting his foot-prints and it refrains studiously from portraying him. Similarly, prints of his feet only are carved in the panel in which a king worships him (Fig. 9 : 2), and a likeness of him is deliberately avoided. This is surprising, for the sculptors of these pieces, having been fairly close in time to the Buddha, should have had no great difficulty in getting at adequate portraits of him,—whether pictorial or verbal. In any event, they should have had some traditional report of his physical appearance. The failure to picture the Buddha must therefore be treated as a positive refusal to delineate him as he should have been in life. He must by then have become so holy that all that could be allowed to be pictured of him was the imprint of his holy hands or holier feet. To these sculptors he must have been a divinity whom it was impossible,—or probably, improper, —to delineate in the human shape as he had become a god and could no longer be conceived of as a human being. The Buddha must have already become a god to his disciples and devotees. We expect a portrait but we get only a foot-print. This transformation of a 'divine' into a divinity is the result of the abounding devotion,—the Bhakti,—of the disciples to the great teacher : a mere person has been elevated by Bhakti into a divinity. The Buddha became a deity much in the way in which Rāma and Kṛṣṇa had become before him and the Christ became after him.

Did the Buddha, then, lose his sanctity or fall from the status of a divinity when, in about a century thereafter, he came to be figured in sculptures?

The case of the Vṛṣṇi chief, Kṛṣṇa, deserves comparison. Long anterior to the Buddha, he started as a hero, and probably also as a teacher, having preached the *Bhagavad Gītā*, but the great devotion of his adherents elevated

him into a god. The longing of his devotees to worship him was so insistent that they set up images of him and bowed before them in all humility of spirit. Thus, the devotion,—the Bhakti,—of the worshippers of Kṛṣṇa made a god of him and then expressed that god in an image. The holier the hero grew the surer was his transmutation into an image. If the bhakti of his followers brought about his exaltation into a deity it condemned him also to petrification in an image.

The Buddha too fared similarly, but with a difference. While the Vṛṣṇi hero and teacher had preached faith in God and so could become a god, the Sakya teacher taught certain doctrines which silently ignored God and so he could not become a god. The Buddha was indifferent to deism, and the acceptance of God was not essential to the perfection of the way of life which he promulgated. In the days immediately following him the interest of the Buddhists was therefore centred in the doctrines and their faith had not acquired a deistic tinge, and so the Buddha was not yet a god. But, the



Fig. 14.

Buddha had countenanced belief in the existence of supernatural beings and godlings and gods, and they kept suggesting the idea of God. The atmosphere also was deistic; the mass of people from whom the Buddha broke away had a firm belief in God and in gods and goddesses. The tendency was therefore towards the evolution of a Buddhist God, but the silence of the Buddha on the need for God stood in the way. The Buddhists endeavoured hard to keep a divinity out of the faith, but they could not struggle for long against the tendency to have a visible representation of something in the faith to serve for an aid to contemplation,—something to which they could anchor their aspirations. That representation could not then be anthropomorphic, for there was then nothing in the faith which could be invested with that form. So, they picked out an abstraction,—the Dharma, the doctrine of the faith,—and expressed it in terms of a symbol and venerated it. This was obviously a period in which the doctrine towered head and shoulders over any divinity that might have been endeavouring to sneak into the faith.

A symbol, however, is much less attractive than a human figure as an object of veneration and the average Buddhist must have pined for a divinity in human shape,—all the more so when he found anthropomorphic images popular with those of his neighbours who professed other faiths. The Buddha had no belief in the efficacy of ritual : not only did he ignore rites such as sacrifice and prayer but he silently discouraged also every act that might be called religious. All this time the tendency to evolve a divinity for Buddhism was growing stronger and the Buddha was being translated into a God by the bhakti,—devotion,—of his adherents. 'The Tathāgata' becomes 'an incorporation of Dhamma', and 'the Dhamma even claims the worship which is the lot of the Brahman in the Upaniṣads'⁶⁵. The Tathāgata becomes also the incorporation of the Brahman and he comes to be 'not only the Dhamma but also the Brahman'⁶⁶. The Brahman of Vedic culture had already been identified with Viṣṇu or Śiva,—as the sectaries chose,—and that Brahman had been represented in images of Viṣṇu and Śiva. There was therefore no reason why Brahman as understood by the Buddhists should not be represented by an image of the Buddha.

The logical positions that the Buddha could be treated as a divinity and that that divinity could be visually expressed in terms of an image were thus reached, but the lack of sanction for God-head in the teaching of the Buddha still prevented the Buddha being shown as a divinity in human form. Scenes from his life were pictured in the marvellous sculptures of Sanchi, but he himself was not depicted, even though his presence had to be shown if the scene was to be intelligible. Only symbols spoke to his presence, and it is probable that the Nandipada over Wheel or Lotus, which occurs frequently at Sanchi, was, as we shall see lower down⁶⁷ intended to represent him symbolically.

As time rolled on, the memory of the person of the Buddha receded into the shadows but the personality of the Buddha advanced into the limelight, adorned with the halo of the identification of the Buddha with Brahman. The Buddha became a divinity who had to be worshipped much like the other manifestations of Brahman as Viṣṇu and Śiva were. But the human form had not to be fictitiously imposed on this Brahman, for it had had that form in its character as the human Buddha. So, an idol of the Buddha could be achieved in his own image. Thus, the Buddha came at last by his own : in the sculptures of about a century after the monuments of Bharhut and Sanchi he was represented in the human form of which by the workings of Bhakti he had been for a time deprived.

Bhakti was too potent an influence to be escaped even by those who would not willingly recognise God. It transmuted even the Buddha into an image in the human form, though it had to take a devious course by symbolis-

65. *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, 1.138-, *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, 2.20-, cited by KEITH, *Rel. & Phil. of Vedas & Up.*, 550.

66. *Abhidharma Kośa*, 1.40, cited by KEITH, *op. cit.*, 550.

67. See section XII below.

ing the teaching of the Buddha and exalting it into an idol and then deposing the symbol-idol and putting in its place the anthropomorphic image.

IX. THE IMAGE IN ITS SETTING

Had the Buddha image materialised under Greek influence it is most likely to have done so in a form that was substantially Greek and also in a setting that was at least partially Greek.

Let us first look at the setting in which the Buddha image appears. A very suggestive piece of sculpture comes from Amaravati (Fig. 15 : 4). It presents a gorgeous scene. A throne stands majestically in the centre : cushions are laid on to make it soft : a pillar rises behind and bears a 'Nandipada over Circle' half way up and a huge wheel on top : some devotees sit around worshipping him and others stand waving fly-whisks. Obviously, the sculpture depicts a scene in the life of the Buddha, who was conceived of as an emperor in Buddhism. The Buddha, however, is not on the throne. We are left wondering that there should have been such elaboration of the scene when the throne was allowed to be vacant.^{67a} But down below we have a pair of feet placed on a foot-stool, and they are represented, not as imprints of feet, but as feet that had been severed just above the ankle. Had they been mere imprints we would be free to assume that the sculpture pictures a scene from which the Buddha had just departed. But they are represented almost as feet sawed off a little above the ankle. Had the Buddha already vacated the throne the devotees would not be plying fly-whisks and the pair of feet would not be where they are. So, we have to conclude that the piece represents, not a stage when the Buddha, having taken his seat on the throne and impressed the print of his feet on the foot-stool, had vacated it, but the stage when the Buddha is actually sitting on the throne,—the feet up to the ankle being represented and the rest of the figure omitted. It is but too obvious that this piece belongs typologically to a stage when the image of the Buddha had materialised but the sculptor was still disinclined to permit the image to establish itself as an object of worship. So, he effected a compromise between the tendencies to represent the Buddha in his own likeness and to omit his figure altogether : the design is definitely transitional in type. Yet, it incorporates a number of cults,—the cults of the symbol and the vestige and the haunt and that of the Buddha as emperor, and at the same time the cult of the image. None of these cults had a vogue among the Greeks in a form in which it could have been taken over by Buddhism.

These sculptures come from stūpas, and the stūpas themselves are the most cogent proofs of the integration of a variety of cults in a form that denies Greek influence. A stūpa represents the funeral mound cult primarily,

67a. The possibility of a cult of an empty throne having obtained in Mycenæan times and survived to Hellenistic days seems to have received some attention,—TARN, *Greeks in Bactria & India*, 205, fn. 6, 7,—but the empty thrones of Buddhist sculpture seem to fall into a totally different category.

but it incorporates a number of other cults as well. Buddhism started with a predilection for the holy spot, the Buddha himself having appointed four places,—the spots of his birth, his enlightenment, his preaching of the faith and his decease,—as spots to which the faithful should make pilgrimages, but it waned with the rapid growth of the stūpa in popularity. This growth was in large measure due to the stūpa cult taking over other popular cults as well,—the relic cult, for a relic was generally imbedded in it, the spot cult, for the place chosen was usually by a fiction associated with an incident in the life of a Buddha or a disciple of his, the vimāna cult, for it was designed as an edifice or it grew into one, and the symbol cult, for it became itself the object of worship, whether as representing the doctrine of impermanence or that of nirvāṇa. The integration of cults which the popularity of the stūpa achieved and crystallised into permanence was itself the cause of the decay of the cults integrated : they lost their individuality and so they degenerated into mere ornamental appendages to the stūpa.

A close parallel is furnished by the development of the Hindu temple. Innumerable are the holy places to which pilgrimages are made by the Hindu, even though no shrines of sanctity stand on them. The generally accepted forms of pilgrimage, down even to the time of the composition of the *Mahā-Bhārata*, seem to have been those to *kṣetras* (sacred spots) and to *tīrthas* (sacred waters), while temples seem to have had no attraction. Even to this day devotees all over India deem it essential to make a pilgrimage to Br̥ndāvana and Gokula, places associated intimately with the early life of Kṛṣṇa, avatar of Viṣṇu and teacher of the *Bhagavad Gītā*, the great scripture, but their sanctity is due, not to any temple built there, but to their having been the spots where the avatar had sported himself. The coming of the temple into importance has, in portions of India, tended to obscure the importance of the *kṣetra* and the *tīrtha* and consequently of the holy haunt as well. Indeed, in South India, though the better known of the temples were in all probability built on spots that had come to be considered holy, the temple has wiped out the memory of the holy spot and the holy haunt. The south Indian devotee who makes a pilgrimage to Br̥ndāvana and Gokula has almost a shock when he finds that no great temple stands in those *kṣetras* and he is even inclined to conclude that the northern Hindu lacks faith. This is to fail to understand the character of the temple. A temple, *ālaya*, is a complex of a number of cults. It has grown round the cults of the idol,—the representation of a mere symbol,—and of the image,—the reflection of a divinity in an animal or a human shape. It has adopted the cult of the *kṣetra* by locating itself at a spot which was already holy or was made sacred by being specially consecrated. It has absorbed the cult of the haunt as well, for the *kṣetra* is often a part of a *milieu* or scene in which a divinity has manifested himself. It has absorbed the cult of the *tīrtha* by providing a sacred pond in front of it so that the devotee may bathe in it and wash himself of his sins. It has taken over the cult of the *vimāna* (edifice) by itself becoming a great structure.

But the integration of cults led to different results in Brahmanism and in Buddhism. The temple absorbed many cults but the whole complex stood subordinated in significance to the image which was the centre of interest. In Viṣṇu temples the icon was anthropomorphic, the image being treated as itself an avatar of Viṣṇu, and in Śiva temples the icon was a symbol, the *liṅga*. Both image and symbol were placed in the sanctum sanctorum of the temple and adoration was paid to the icon,—the temple and the other concomitants deriving their sanctity from their constituting the setting for the icon. All other cults became subordinate to that of the icon. The stūpa, on the other hand, owed its sanctity to its being either commemorative or funereal, and not to any icon placed in association with it. Some symbols were of course among the sculptures carved and set up in the stūpa, but they were ornaments of, or pointers to, the faith. While they made the stūpa attractive they did not make it adorable. Such veneration as was shown to the stūpa was in its own right as mound and not as edifice housing the deity.

The stūpa as mound had no more than a limited appeal to the populace, for, it could not be the centre of elaborate ceremonial. The ritual observed in temples has modelled itself closely on the practices of royal courts, on the principle that the lord of creation should be surrounded by at least that amount of ceremonial that the temporal ruler receives. Where anthropomorphic images were the objects of worship the ceremonial of courts was easily applied, for the image had merely to do duty for the king, but where only the *liṅga* or other symbol was venerated the ceremonial could not be utilised directly. But in even the temples in which the image installed in the holy of holies was anthropomorphic the full ritual of royal courts could not be adopted, for, such ceremonials as surround the king granting audience to great concourses of his subjects or the king going out a hunting or making royal progress could not be reproduced in the temple, for the image, being permanently installed in the holy of holies, could not be taken out in procession. The principal image had therefore to be supplemented by images in human shape that could go about. The device of the peripatetic image was thus adopted not only in those temples in which the image in the sanctum sanctorum was in human shape but also in those in which it was a symbolic representation, and the peripatetic images were made to receive all the honours appropriate to royalty. The ritual of temples has therefore had the effect of bringing the anthropomorphic image into even those temples in which divinity is represented in symbolic form. The stūpa, however, could not be the centre of such a ritual, for it could by no means adopt the role of king, temporal or spiritual. The symbols associated with it might have been turned to the same account to which peripatetic images were put, but the result would not have been happy, for the enthusiasm that would be raised by the king himself granting public audience could scarcely be evoked if his sword or umbrella were sent to the audience hall. The stūpa could not therefore catch the popular imagination as effectively as the temple, unless it helped to create a divinity who could function as king spiritual. But,

while the Buddha could play with the notion of his being emperor, and his devotees could enjoy him in that role as well, a worship of him as a divinity should have been rested on spiritual claims. It is therefore in his other character,—that of a person of religion,—that he could come to be worshipped.

The setting in which the image of the Buddha appears is wholly indigenous and seems to owe nothing to Greek influence.

X. THE CONTENT OF THE IMAGE

If the setting in which the image of the Buddha originates is not Greek, neither do the forms of the images in which the Buddha is deified betray traces of Greek influences except in the style of workmanship. The dress and the jewellery are Indian and so are the postures, even in the images of the Gandhara school in which the foreign influence was most potent.

The Buddha was generally presented in three distinctive characters,—as prince or king, as monk, and as preceptor. These roles are but reflections of the phases of his life : no Greek *motif* enters into them.

The representations we have of him as prince or king or monk cannot be said to be either based on or copied from Greek models. Even if the similarity to the Greek Apollo which has been suggested by some authorities is well-founded and could be accepted as evidence of a copying of the representation of a Greek king, it is yet not easy to show that the similarity could be traced to the days of the origin of the Buddha image : in all probability the resemblance arose in the period when Gandhara art was in the closest contact with the art of the parent country. The similarity cannot serve to substantiate an origin in Greek models or in Greek modes of thought.

How completely indigenous the concept of the image of the Buddha is may be seen from a consideration of the basis and the origin of the class of images in which he is shown propounding his Dharma. Many of these images are of the Gandhara school, and yet their testimony is unequivocally against the theory of Greek inspiration.

A very common type of the Buddha image, as evolved in that school, is that of a seated Buddha—seated sometimes under a tree,—placing his right hand on a wheel which is often mounted on a pillar and is flanked by a deer on either side. The Buddhist explanation of this type is that it shows the Buddha setting in motion the Wheel which is Dharma,—a symbolical mode of saying that the Buddha promulgated his teaching, the Dharma,—and that as it was done for the first time in a Deer Park : the tree represents the park and the Wheel runs between a pair of deer. But it is difficult to see why the wheel that has just to start on its way should be shown mounted on top of a pillar : it must tumble down from the pillar before it can start on its career. It is not placed among the deer through whom it has to run, but it stands exalted above them. Often, the tree is not depicted : the absence of the tree dissociates the incident from the park. Another puzzle is a *nandipada*

over a lotus on either side of which lies a deer (Fig. 15 : 1) : it is not a Lotus that was set rolling in the Deer Park and its progress was not handicapped by its being made to bear the load of an exaggerated *nandipada*. Yet another puzzle is that of the panel from Amarāvati (Fig. 15 : 2) in which the deer



Fig. 15.

are shown without a wheel between them. An even more difficult puzzle is that of the throne-scene from Amarāvati, already referred to (Fig. 15 : 4) in which the pair of deer do not flank a wheel but a pair of feet, while the wheel itself is hoisted aloft on a very substantial post, located considerably behind. These pieces of sculpture should serve to demonstrate that the tree and the deer in them have little to do with a deer park. If we discard the traditional explanation that the tree and the deer represent the Deer Park we come nearer to the correct explanation.

If the Buddha is shown seated under a tree it is because he betook himself to the Bodhi tree, following the ancient practice of retiring to a forest and seating oneself under a tree for meditation. It was believed that even the gods sat themselves under a tree to attain immortality. Two verses of the Atharva Veda say : 'the *āsvattha* (tree), seat of the gods, in the third heaven from here... there the gods won the sight of immortality' : another verse says : 'the *āsvattha*, seat of the gods, in the third heaven from here :

there (is) the gift of immortality'. Having obtained enlightenment by meditation at the foot of the Tree of Wisdom, the Buddha had become competent to be a preceptor, for, in early India the preceptor par excellence was one who, having gone through a rigorous course of contemplation, had become a yogi. So, there was a purpose in depicting the Buddha as seated under a tree.

The two deer flanking the nandipada over lotus (Fig. 15 : 1) are components in a composition that conforms to the pattern of 'cult-object between adorants'. They occupy much the same position as that of the deer that have ranged themselves on either side 'the shrine at Migasammata' (Fig. 8 : 1). The 'shrine' was a 'haunt' of a man or a divinity, and if the man or divinity was depicted symbolically in the haunt, this piece of sculpture would represent exactly what the other piece does represent,—a worshipful symbol between deer. The nandipada over lotus and between deer may therefore be but the symbol of some man or some divinity whom the Buddhists revered.

We have found that the deer occur in scenes representing the first promulgation of the doctrine by the Buddha,—that is, in scenes in which he is shown initiating the world into his doctrine. In representations of Dakṣiṇāmūrti,—Śiva as the Preceptor who taught the Dharma to four great ṛṣis,—a pair of deer is shown at the feet. When a boy, Brāhmaṇa or Kṣatriya, went to a preceptor and said, 'I have come hither for the sake of studentship'⁶⁸, the preceptor initiated him into studentship, 'arranged for him' a 'skin as an outer garment' and chanted mantras among which was one which said, 'May Aditi tuck up thy garment that thou mayst study the Veda, for the sake of insight and belief and of not forgetting what thou hast learnt, for the sake of holiness and holy lustre'⁶⁹. The skin was that of a black antelope for a Brāhmaṇa and of a spotted deer for a Kṣatriya.⁷⁰ To this day every Brāhmaṇa boy in south India is invested with 'the sacred thread' at his initiation and a bit of the skin of a black antelope is tied to the thread, obviously in token of an observance of the ancient ritual of clothing the pupil in deer-skin. This cannot be merely a formal assumption of a dress which might have been 'the natural garment of the early Vedic Indian',⁷¹ for the pupil, at the conclusion of the course of study to which he had vowed himself, had solemnly to discard the skin of the antelope :⁷² he would not have had to cast it off if it was the clothing which he had to wear through-

68. *Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra*, 2.2.

69. *Hiranyakeśi Gṛhya Sūtra*, 1.1.4.6.

70. *Sāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, 2.1.1-4 ; *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, 1.19.10 ; *Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra*, 2.5.17-18 ; *Hiranyakeśi Gṛhya Sūtra*, 1.1.4.7. 'The Vedic student goes,....clothing himself in the black antelope skin, consecrated, long-bearded' : *Atharva Veda*, 11.5.6.

71. KERTH, *Rel. & Phil. Vedas & Up.*, 302.

72. *Hiranyakeśi Gṛhya Sūtra*, 1.7.8, 1.9.8-10 ; *Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra*, 3-1.24 ; *Sāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, 3.1-7 ; *Khadviya Gṛhya Sūtra*, 3.1.24 ; *Mānava Dharma-Sāstra*, 2.41.

out life. The youth who becomes a disciple and wears the skin of the antelope is assured that he obtains the splendour that results from the acquisition of sacred knowledge (*brahma-varcasam*).⁷³

The deer seems thus to be closely associated both with the assumption of preceptorship,—for, while the deer lie at the feet of Dakṣiṇāmūrti and in the bases of sculptures of the Buddha they do not appear at the feet of the initiates,—and with the initiation itself,—for it is at the initiation that the pupil is invested with the deer-skin. So the deer seem to symbolise the initiation. In Tantric doctrine, 'he who offers a deer' in sacrifice 'gains salvation (mokṣa)', while 'he who offers a he-goat becomes a good speaker, he who offers a sheep becomes a poet, he who offers a buffalo gains wealth, he who offers a man gains great wealth and eight kinds of the highest occult powers'⁷⁴. Salvation being the end of which initiation is the means provided by the preceptor, the significance of deer in Tantric doctrine too is that of initiation into the faith.

So, in the sculptures depicting the Buddha starting the wheel on its course the deer seem to be present because the scene is one in which the Buddha assumes the role of preceptor and, accepting all men for pupils, initiates them into his Dharma. The deer are not irrelevant in these sculptures, but their significance is different from the one commonly accepted: they indicate the character of the scene,—the initiation into the Dharma,—and not its locale,—the Deer Park. The story of the Deer Park must have arisen in days when either the significance of the deer was forgotten or the affinity with the Vedic culture which they testified to was sought to be blurred.^{74a}

The image of the Buddha turning the Wheel is thus an image of him in the role of Yogī and preceptor. The scene of the turning of the Wheel is that of the initiation of mankind into the Dharma. The deer were set on either side of the Wheel, in conformity with what was then an ancient and well-accepted formula in India,—the placing of a cult-object between adorants.

The preceptor is next only to God, in every Indian faith: the man of religion must feel the highest devotion (bhakti) for his guru (preceptor) as for God⁷⁵. So, when the Buddhists had identified the Buddha the great Preceptor with Brahman and had at long last decided on depicting him in an image it is not surprising that they chose to represent him in the character of preceptor. An image in any character closer to a divinity would have been, at that stage, too open a negation of the Buddha's silence in regard to God.

This type of image had, however, been anticipated many centuries earlier at Mohenjo-Daro. It occurs in a simple form in a seal in which a

73. *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, 1.2.1-9.

74. Krishnananda, *Tantra-Sāra*, quoted by CHANDA, *Survival of the Pre-historic Civilization of the Indus Valley*, 18.

74a. See Appendix 6.

75. For instance, *Svetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, 6.23.

three-faced god is presented in Yogic pose (Fig. 14 : 1) and in another seal where it is doubtful if the god has more than one face⁷⁶. The similarity between these figures and the images of the Buddha in a yoga stance is not evidence for anything more definite than that of the antiquity of the stances of yoga. But the image occurs in a fuller version in the Śiva-Paśupati seal (Fig. 13 : 2) which shows a human figure endowed with three faces and garnished with a horn-crown and seated as a yogi on a pedestal in which are carved two deer 'regardant'. This is very similar to the images of the Buddha at the bases of which deer are carved,—agreeing in the pose and in the symbolism. Had a wheel been found between the deer below the figure of Paśupati, the image on the seal would have been almost a replica of the Buddha turning the Wheel, but the failure to place the Wheel between the deer is compensated for by seating the Yogī between two groups of animals. The similarity of the Paśupati image with deer below to the image of the Buddha with deer in the pedestal is too close to be missed easily. The similarity extends also to the content of the two images : if Śiva-Paśupati is a preceptor and in due course becomes Śiva-Dakṣiṇāmūrti, the Buddha also is a preceptor and in a short while becomes a preceptor-god.

The Yogī as a god and as a preceptor-god and as the middle term in a formula that was as much religious as artistic was well established in the Harappa culture. Some twenty-four centuries later the same character reappears in Buddhist art in the same setting,—tree and deer,—and in conformity with the same formula. It is therefore impossible to maintain that a preceptor-god in a yoga pose was unknown to Indian art of the intermediate period,—whether it served Buddhism or other faiths. If actual specimens are not forthcoming the reasons must be sought for elsewhere than in an extinction of the vogue of such images. To maintain the contrary would be to ask for the occurrence, about the 1st century B.C., of a miracle which would resuscitate a conception and a *motif* which had been dead about twenty centuries.

An interesting phenomenon is that sculptures of the Buddha as preceptor seated on a pedestal bearing deer seem to be more common in the school of Gandhara and in that of the Andhra country, which is believed to have been to some extent under foreign influence, than in the schools which did not come under foreign influences. While nothing in Greek art, nor in the Hellenistic art into which it changed in Asia Minor and further east, can explain either the pose as preceptor or the presence of the deer, these elements could be traced directly to Indian religious concepts and art modes. Their adoption by the Hellenic sculptors of Gandhara is proof of the vitality of Indian concepts and modes in that age and of the readiness with which those sculptors were willing to assimilate Indian beliefs and to abide by Indian norms. They did not seek to impose their art on India, but in the humility of spirit which ought to have come on them; not perhaps because they had come into the

76. MACKAY, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 335 : 87 (235).

presence of a superior art in India, but at least because they had passed under the influence of a way of life and of faith which to them were superior to what they had known in the lands of Hellenism, they surrendered themselves to the new faith and bent their skill to their new purposes and, with rare self-effacement, strove to express Indian concepts in the Indian manner. If something of the Greek style still entered into their handiwork it is not to be brought up against them that their surrender to the spirit of India was not complete nor is it to be brought up against Indian art that it was then lacking in the elements which now may have the appearance of being borrowings.

From whatsoever point of view we look at the evolution of image-worship in India we find no warrant for seeking beyond the frontiers of the country for either the inspiration to worship a god in an anthropomorphic image or the incentive to present the image in the forms and in the settings with which we are familiar. The image of the Buddha in his own shape is therefore indubitably the offspring of indigenous forces and it owes nothing to foreign inspiration.

XI. THE IMAGE ON A COIN OF MAUES

A casual suggestion made a quarter of a century back that a representation of the Buddha in the human form occurs on a coin of Maues (Fig. 14 : 7)⁷⁷, issued probably just a little before 70 B.C., has recently been taken up and made the basis of a contention, pressed with vigour and ample argumentation, that as it is probable that the coin was issued just a little before 70 B.C., the Buddha statue must have been well established in Gandhara before the issue of the coin and that as this must have been 'early in the 1st century B.C., at latest', the Gandhara Buddha must have been 'at least a century, and perhaps nearer two centuries older' than the Buddhas of indigenous origin⁷⁸.

This theory does not seem, however, to square with facts. That the coin of Maues is Greek in character and that the seated figure on it represents the Buddha are assumptions which do not seem to be well-founded. The execution of the coin is decidedly better than is usual with indigenous issues, but this by itself need take us no farther than that the mint-master of Maues was one who shared the Greek penchant for faultless finish. Neither of the types on the coin is Greek, either in the subjects portrayed or in the general appearance. The plastic style of the types is obviously close to that of the indigenous school : the Greek style cannot easily furnish parallels : the seated figure is stocky as in the sculptures of Mathura. The designing of the types and the engraving of the dies were in all probability the work of an artist of the indigenous school, though, it is just possible that, working as he

77. DAMES, in *JRAS.*, 1914 : 793. COOMARASWAMY agreed in *Art Bulletin*, 9(4) : 16 *fn.* 31.

78. TARN, *Greeks in Bactria & India*, 404.

must have done in an atmosphere of Greek art, he bestowed more attention on finish than he would have done in India proper.

The identification of the seated figure has presented considerable difficulty. All the known specimens of this coin being badly worn it is not possible to decide whether a certain horizontal line running from the seated figure represents the low cross-bar of the back of the seat on which it is seated or a sword or a sceptre laid across its lap. The nearest analogue to the coin is one of Azes I on which there is an object similarly placed⁷⁹. Those specimens of the latter coin that are well preserved make it absolutely clear that the object could not possibly be the back of a seat : they may not resolve the doubt whether the line is that of a sword or a sceptre, but there can be no possibility of its being connected with the outlines of a throne⁸⁰. Maues was a Saka king who ruled down to 58 B.C. and Azes I was king of the same region 'by 30 B.C. at the very latest', and at least because he had some Saka blood in his veins, 'claimed not only to have succeeded to Maues' empire, but that that empire, though it had lapsed *de facto*, had never lapsed *de jure*'⁸¹. The most appropriate commentary, therefore, on the device on the coin of Maues is the device on that of Azes I, it being almost certain that the latter is a close copy of the former. Azes I was close enough to Maues to have had in his hands plenty of the latter's coins fresh from the mint, and we may trust him to have understood them very much better than we can, at least because his understanding must have been sharpened by his anxiety to make it appear that he stood in the shoes of Maues. The clear testimony of the latter coin is not to be wholly ignored on the basis of speculative reconstructions out of much-worn specimens of the former coin. Azes I understood the line to stand for sceptre or sword, and we have no option but to abide by his interpretation.

It has been said that it is difficult to 'envisage a Greek artist giving a king a sword for him to fold his hands meekly over it' and that 'no Greek engraver could have put Maues, the conquering ruler of a large empire, on the reverse of his own coinage'⁸², but these contentions are of no great cogency, for, as has been pointed out above, there is not much of the Greek flavour about the coin⁸³. The figure carries a sword or sceptre in its lap

79. The resemblance has been noticed by COOMARASWAMY, who points out that it negatives the description of the figure on the Maues coin as the Buddha; in *Art Bulletin*, 9 (4) : 16 fn. 31.

80. COOMARASWAMY, in *Ib.*, 9(4) : 16 fn. 31.

81. TARN, *Greeks in Bactria & India*, 348-9.

82. *Ibid.* 401-2.

83. Another argument is rather complex. This coin, on which a 'dancing' elephant appears on one face, bears a seated figure on the other and so is similar to another coin of the same king in which, while a similar elephant frisks on one face, a humped bull,—the representation of Siva,—stands on the other. The types on the latter of the two coins must be interpreted to depict Siva (on one face) as being worshipped by the elephant (on the other face). The elephant on one face of this coin being thus a devotee of the God on the other, the elephant on the other

which no image of the Buddha does. The evidence is conclusive against the view that it is the Buddha who is figured on the coin of Maues.

A comparison of the seated figure on the coin may be made profitably with similar figures on some Indian coins of the indigenous series from which Greek influence is totally absent. The obverse type on a coin from Ujjain (Fig. 14 : 2) attributable to 'probably the third and second centuries B.C.'⁸⁴, is a human figure seated on a lotus in a pose very similar to that of the coin of Maues but holding its hands folded much higher than the lap : the sex being difficult of determination, one authority has taken the figure to represent the Buddha⁸⁵ while another believes it to be that of Lakṣmī⁸⁶. The better view would seem to be that it is the Buddha or a Yogī or a teacher like him who is delineated, for the figure is found placed beside,—or under,—a tree enclosed by a railing, which in Indian culture is associated with both Yogī and preceptor⁸⁷, and has no connection with Lakṣmī. On another specimen of probably the same series (Fig. 14 : 3) the type, though less clear, seems to be similar, except for the absence of the tree. A third coin, also from Ujjain and of about the same date (Fig. 14 : 4), shows a figure seated on a lotus, but with the soles of the feet pressing against each other,—another definite proof of the yogī pose. Two coins from Panchala (Fig. 14 : 5, 6), belonging probably to the middle of the 1st century B.C., seem to accommodate a deity seated on a dais⁸⁸, but they are too worn to be depended on, except to suggest that the Ujjain type was probably accepted in other regions as well. The pose of the types on these Ujjain coins,—and even probably those on the seated series of Panchala,—are unmistakably representations of a preceptor, for the disappearance of the tree on the second of the Ujjain coins is but a simplification of the type on the first. The preceptor may not

coin must also be a devotee, and his devotion must be paid to the human figure on the other face of that coin, and so that human figure must be an image of the Buddha. (See TARN, *Greeks in Bactria & India*, 402-3). Here we have a mistake and a series of fallacies. The bull is not a representation of Śiva but is an attendant on that god. If the human figure is to be a god, why should he not be Śiva? Why should Maues be made to divide allegiance between two gods, instead of being declared a Śaivite on the evidence of both the coins? The attempt to make out that the human figure is the Buddha is not less desperate than the attempt of the elephant to worship a deity whom it cannot see, not because it is invisible, but because it has perversely ensconced itself on the other side.

84. ALLAN, *BM.CC. Ancient India*, (145).

85. CUNNINGHAM, *Coins of Ancient India*, 97 : 10(10).

86. ALLAN, *BM.CC. Ancient India*, (145).

87. If it be imperative that the preceptor should be one identified with Buddhism, it is probable that he is Mahā-Kaccāna, the eminent divine who, taught directly by the Buddha, went to his native city of Ujjaiyini and, living in the royal park there, preached Buddhism constantly to the people. But, what about the sword in the lap?

88. The description of these generally as standing figures is based on the types on the Panchala issues which are usually of the standing variety, but it would be highly misleading to describe some of the figures as standing unless we are to assume that the types underwent violent deterioration,

be the Buddha, if we are to be guided by the history of the development of the iconography of the Buddha, and there is no evidence fixing the identity.

But, wherefrom did Ujjain get the idea of the figure of the preceptor? The presence of a tree behind the preceptor in the earliest of the coins (Fig. 14 : 2) reminds us of two seals of the Harappa culture. In one of them a person is seated in a yoga pose,—much as the preceptor is presented in classical Indian art,—and he wears a horn-crown from which rises 'a twig with leaves like those of a pipal' (Fig. 14 : 1), and in the second of them another person similarly seated wears a horn-crown from which sticks up 'a spike of flowers'⁸⁹. These seals suggest the probability of the figure representing a preceptor seated under a tree, but we know of another seal in which tree-spirits and votaries are garnished with sprigs⁹⁰, just as in 'the oldest form' of horned crowns in Sumerian seals of about the same age a plant rises between the two horns⁹¹. Association with a tree may make a preceptor of a person seated in contemplation but it cannot impose that transformation on persons not so engaged. So, these two seals from Harappa do, in all probability, represent a preceptor. But this preceptor is figured differently from Śiva-paśupati (Fig. 13 : 2) ; he sits associated with a plant or tree but dissociated from beasts at the sides and deer in the pedestal. These are significant, for associations and disassociations we have various types of the Buddha image in which tree, deer, wheel, and adorants are introduced or eliminated according to the whim of the moment. If the preceptor of the Harappa culture was pictured in two forms, the Buddha as preceptor was pictured in a number of forms, all of which, however, could ultimately be traced back to the two varieties known to Harappa. So, we may fairly infer not only that the preceptor of Ujjain, the preceptor of the coin of Maues and the numerous preceptor-Buddhas are descended from the two types known to the Harappa culture but also that even such divergences as may be found among them are traceable to the days of Harappa.⁹²

But, how are we to explain the sword or the sceptre in the lap of the figure on the coin of Maues, and how are we to reconcile the pose of the figure, —the 'crossed legged seance' and the hands laid in the lap, —with the sceptre or the sword? No such object appears either in the seals of the Harappa culture or in the representations of the Buddha.

The possibilities are that the type represents a character not unfamiliar in early Indian history, —the *rāja-rṣi*, a king who was also an ascetic, —or

89. MACKAY, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 335 : 235.

90. *Ib.*, 337-8 : 99(A).

91. OSTEN, *Ancient Oriental Seals in Collection of E. T. Newell*, 133, 135 : 6(47).

92. The yogī with the single face sits by himself, but he with the three faces has animal attendants. Was a deliberate distinction known to Harappa? Were Uni-face and Tri-face two different personalities,—the latter being the more distinguished, as testified to by the animals on either side and the deer in the pedestal? Was Uniface a preceptor thought of as god and was Tri-face, 'Paśu-pati', a god playing the preceptor?

that it is a deity different from the Buddha or other preceptor-god, or that it is an unintelligible degradation of a type that once had a meaning. Neither Maues nor Azes I could be called a rāja-ṛṣi. A mark like a svastika or a cross appears on one of the coins from Ujjain (Fig. 14 : 3) to the right of the seated figure and one of the limbs of the symbol runs horizontally at the same level as the lap of the figure. If the mark degenerated in later issues and ran across the coin it might have suggested a sword or a sceptre laid on the lap. If Maues did take Ujjain, as seems likely, and retained it for some time, he might have come across worn out specimens of this degenerate series and they might have appeared to him to depict the preceptor-like figure as holding a sword or sceptre in the lap, and so he might have believed he was adopting the Ujjain pattern when on his issue he invested a preceptor with a similar object. But, it is also possible that what was a degeneration in Ujjain might have acquired a special significance in the hands of Maues. Is it likely that by then the conception had been evolved of the Buddha,—or other great Yogī-god or preceptor-god wielding a sword,—whom Maues wished to venerate? The classic conception of the Buddha as emperor might have had an appeal to Maues the great conqueror, but the idea is not otherwise known to have given rise to an image of this kind. Innumerable are the forms with which the Buddha is invested, but in none does he appear with a sword or sceptre. Who, then, is represented in this intriguing form? An answer to this question may not be easy,⁹³ but it is indisputable that the type on the Ujjain series is closely connected with that on the coin of Maues. If the Ujjain series is the earlier, —and it now seems that it is decidedly so, —the seated figure on the Maues coin would be but a derivation from Ujjain, and, even if it is an image of the Buddha, the parent of the image would be that of the preceptor of Ujjain.⁹⁴

Thus, we may trace any variety of the image of the Buddha as preceptor through the coin of Maues and the issues of Panchala and Ujjain, to the two archetypes known to the Harappa culture. When the relationship of these images is thus clearly traceable within the confines of India itself and in terms of Indian concepts alone, it is wholly superfluous to postulate an explanation through a revelation from Greece.

XII. NANDIPADA OVER CIRCLE

On Indian antiquities of the period for which Buddhist remains are those that are best known a symbol appears frequently which, in essentials,

93. See Appendix 7.

94. Had COOMARASWAMY had before him, when he wrote in *Art Bulletin*, 9(4) : 16, ALLAN's ascription of the Ujjain coin (Fig. 14 : 2) to the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., he would have rested his case for the indigenous origin of the Buddha image on this coin and would have derived the coin of Maues from it. He would not also have had to labour the priority of the Mathura school to that of Gandhara. This is not, however, to be regretted, for, otherwise, Mathura would not have had justice done to it.

is a compound of a three-limbed design like W and a circle, the former being placed above the latter. As examples may be cited the symbols on two pieces of sculpture (Fig. 16 : 6-7) of about the 2nd century A.D. Variations in the

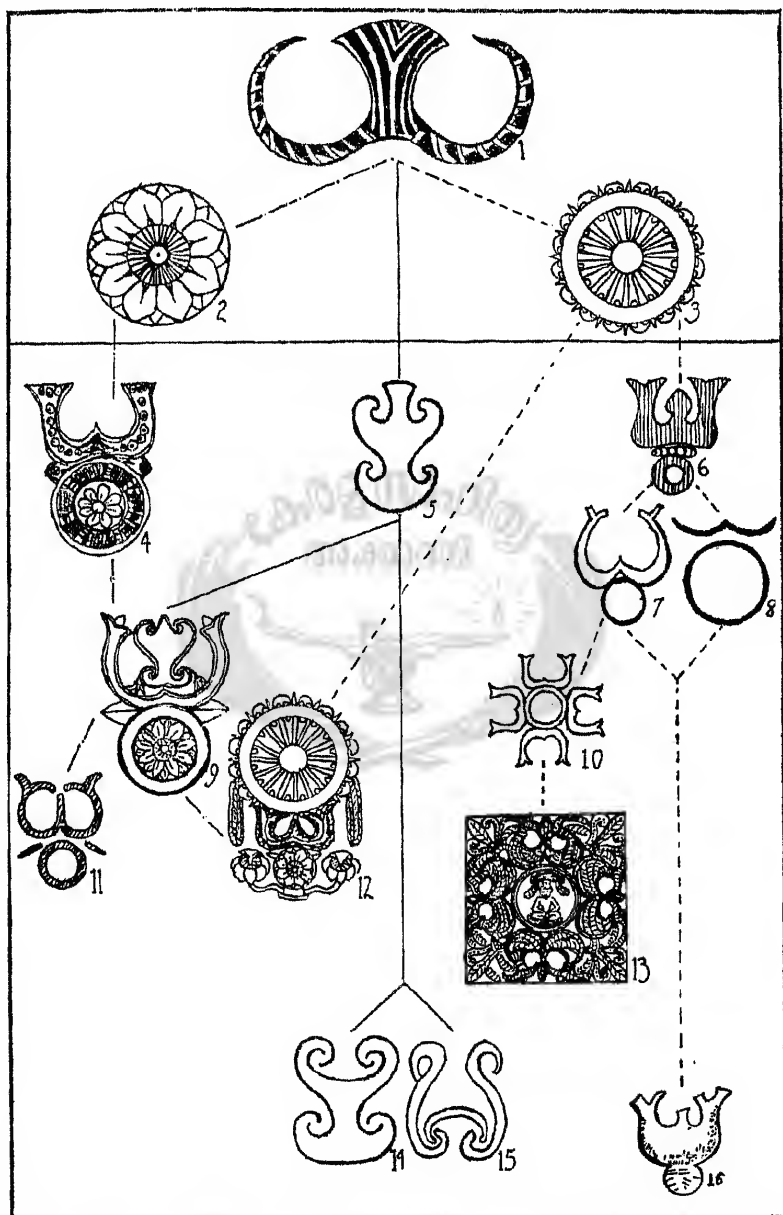


Fig. 16.

symbols are not uncommon : the middle limb is usually shorter than the two at the ends : the outer limbs sometimes split in two at the tips : sometimes

a thin object of which the character is not clear is inserted between the upper and the lower components (Fig. 16 : 6) : occasionally a pair of lines seem to emerge in opposite directions from the space between the upper and the lower members (Fig. 16 : 11). The symbol is very frequently known in another form in which the lower member, the circle, encloses a full-blown lotus, and a pair of leaf-like projections protrude to right and to left from the junction of the two components (Fig. 16 : 4, 9). The upper member has been called *tri-ratna* and *nandi-pāda*, but the latter name seems to be better authenticated. We have no name for the composite symbol.

The combination becomes more complicated with the addition of a shield-like symbol, placed on the tip of the middle prong of the nandipada so as to be hugged by the other two prongs (Fig. 16 : 9) or of a wheel, poised generally on the tips (Fig. 16 : 12). It happens even that a wheel is mounted on each of the prongs and that nandipada and lotus are placed between a pair of deer lying, back to back (Fig. 15 : 1).

Both the nandipada and the lotus are symbols well-known in Indian art but it is not easily understandable why the two should be brought together, and, especially, why the former should be mounted on the latter. The two leaf-like protuberances from the junction of nandipada with lotus (Fig. 16 : 4, 9) render no account of themselves : they are out of place, whether they be two different leaves or two edges of one leaf, for there is no reason why a leaf or leaves should be inserted between the upper and the lower members. The circle may have some significance as a symbol, but the reason for its association with the nandipada is not obvious. In one case (Fig. 16 : 11) it may be a degeneration of a lotus, for the strokes that emerge from the inter-space between the two members may represent debasements of leaves occurring along with the lotus. But in another specimen there are no strokes, and a cushion-like object is found interposed between the two members (Fig. 16 : 6) ; so the intermediate object must originally have been something other than a leaf and the lower member might not have been the lotus. The nearest analogue to a circle, other than the lotus, being a wheel, it may be permissible to assume that it is the wheel that degenerated into the circle. Even so, it is not at first easy to see why nandipada and wheel should have been brought together.

The nandipada is very similar in shape to the horn-crown of Harappa (Fig. 16 : 1 and Fig. 13 : 2).⁹⁵ The two curves which together make the nandipada are also the principal elements in the composition of the horn-crown. The crown has, however, been sought to be identified with the 'triśūla', three-pronged spear, well known in Indian iconography, and the triśūla is taken to have been copied in the nandipada or triratna.⁹⁶ But the identity must be negated for a number of reasons. The crown has only two sharp-pointed limbs instead of the three required for the triśūla : the

95. CHANDA, *Pre-historic Civiliz. Indus Valley*, 34.

96. MARSHALL, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 54-5.

projection in the middle is so broad that it is unthinkable that it could be a spear-point.^{96a} No more than two horns make up the crown : we do not see a third.⁹⁷ The two outer limbs, though pointed, are so incurved that they could scarcely pierce as the prongs of a spear should. A trisūla is no weapon unless it incorporates a shaft : it is essentially a spear and the number of prongs does not matter, but the crown is not mounted on a shaft. It is the nandipada that is from the earliest times shown with incurved prongs : it has no association with a shaft : often, the middle limb is shorter than the outer limbs, while in a trisūla it cannot be perceptibly shorter than the other two. The spears found at Mohenjo-Daro are not similar to the crown in shape.⁹⁸ A suggestion has been made that the crown is composed of three horns and that therefore the figure wearing it should be Agni and not Śiva,⁹⁹ but it fails *in limine* as it is impossible to agree that three horns go to make up the crown.¹⁰⁰ The crown is the proto-type of the nandipada.

The shield-like symbol which is found incorporated in one of the nandipadas at Sanchi (Fig. 16 : 9) is similarly close in appearance to a symbol (Fig. 16 : 5) that occurs at a very early date in Egypt, though both of them are compounded of other elements as well. The chief of the elements, however, is identical in shape with the horn-crown : even the broad curve of the middle 'prong' is reproduced. The identity need cause no surprise, for the horn-crown of Harappa has a parallel in the similar crowns found in early Sumerian seals of about the same age as the seals of Mohenjo-Daro,¹⁰¹ and the parallelism extends, in the case of one of them,¹⁰² to the association of a plant with the crown. It occurs also in a Sumero-Akkadian seal¹⁰³ of a date just later than the seal from Mohenjo-Daro. When the horn-crown of these cultures is isolated it becomes a symbol by itself, and when combined with other elements it forms the more complicated symbol of Egypt (Fig. 16 : 5). With just a little further modification it becomes the shield of the Indian symbol (Fig. 16 : 9).^{103a}

96a. The breadth of the projection in the middle suggests that it is a casque or helmet to which the two horns are attached. Such a contraption is not unknown to early cultures. See HASTINGS, *Ency. Rel. & Ethics*, s. v. 'Horns'.

97. On another seal from Mohenjo-Daro we have a symbol the two limbs of which curve away from a circle or knot. The two curves resemble snakes but each finishes with the head of a urus-bull. The circle or the knot appears to rest on the tip of a shaft, imparting to the design the distant similitude of a spear,—if we are insistent on treating the heads of the bulls as the pointed prongs of a spear,—but first appearances are illusory, for on a closer view the shaft is found to be a branch of a tree which continues further up and gives rise to a number of shoots and leaves. See MARSHALL, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 112 (387).

98. MARSHALL, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 34-5.

99. SALETRE, in *New Review*, 1939 : 28-35.

100. See MORAES, in *New Review*, 1939 : 438-48, and AIYAPPAN, in *JRASB.* L. 1939, 401-6.

101. OSTEN, *Ancient Seals Colln. Newell*, 134.

102. *Ib.*, 135 : 22 (47).

103. *Ib.*, 134 : 14(153).

103a. See Appendix 8.

Having thus found that the horn-crown becomes a symbol and that it allows itself to be transmuted into complex forms we are tempted to find an explanation for the symbol of nandipada over circle by assuming that it combined with the lotus (Fig. 16 : 2) and the wheel (Fig. 16 : 3) which are ancient symbols in India: the products are the group of symbols of which the type is nandipada over lotus (Fig. 16 : 4) and the other group of which a debased type is the nandipada over circle (Fig. 16 : 6).

The horn is generally treated in early cultures as a symbol of strength, evidently because of its being the weapon of offence of animals. The wheel too is a symbol of the same virtue, it having been developed at an early date into a powerful weapon of attack. So, wheel and horn-crown might have easily come together to indicate a double measure of strength. The lotus is sprung from Viṣṇu's navel, the source of the energy of the universe, and bears Brahmā, the creator. This double association with energy could have led to the lotus also being coupled with the horn, just as the wheel was. The wheel and the lotus having, thus, practically the same symbolic content, the two might have become interchangeable when associated with the horn.¹⁰⁴

The association of the lotus with Brahmā takes us further. Brahmā, the creator, being but a concretization of Brahman, the lotus by its association with Brahmā becomes an appropriate symbol for Brahman. The wheel also comes to have a similar significance. It is a representation of Dharma, which is a creation of Brahman.¹⁰⁵ 'The term Dhamma (Dharma) not rarely is used as a substitute in expressing the Buddhist ideal, for the Brahman of the Upaniṣads', and even 'the term Brahman itself is occasionally preserved.'¹⁰⁶ So, the wheel too may have come to symbolise Brahman. But the Buddha himself, is, as has been pointed out already, treated as Brahman. So, both lotus and wheel may stand as symbols for the Buddha.

The lower member of the combination, —wheel, lotus or circle, —represents Brahman or the Buddha, and the upper member, the horn-crown, connotes strength. The super-imposing of the horn-crown over wheel, lotus or circle, may thus mean the investing of Brahman or the Buddha with the insignia of power or strength. The composite symbol may have really been an ancient one, representing Brahman initially, and the Buddhists may subsequently have adopted it to represent the Buddha when they had to develop a symbolism for themselves.

Two circumstances may be pointed to in support of this suggestion. Firstly, we have numerous sculptures depicting a holy seat under a tree and

104. The circle may also be taken to be the result of the degeneration of the lotus as much as of the wheel, but the assumption is unnecessary in view of the practical identity of the significance of both the wheel and the lotus.

105. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, 1, 4. 14.

106. KEITH, *Rel. & Phil. Ved. & Up.*, 550. See *Dīgha Nikāya*, 3. 232. KEITH, following GEIGER, points out also that the phrases Dhamma-Cakka and Dhamma-Yāna have their parallels in Brahma-Cakka (*Majjhima-Nikāya*, 1. 69) and Brahma-yāna (*Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, 5-5).

a symbol placed either behind, or on, the seat (Fig. 8 : 5). This is eminently the scene in which, as we have seen, one would expect the Buddha to be shown when an anthropomorphic representation of him was desired, and, similarly, this is also the *milieu* in which a symbol of the Buddha would be placed if a symbolic representation of him was required. So, the symbols which are found placed under the tree, in Buddhist art, are those that are most likely to represent the Buddha. The most common of these symbols is the 'Nandipada over circle', though sometimes it is the wheel, the Dharma-Cakra.¹⁰⁷ These are the very symbols which we have found to signify the Buddha. Secondly, we have a modification of the pattern of 'Nandipada over circle': the Nandipada is repeated four times around a circle (Fig. 16 : 10). The repetition connotes a 'strengthening' or an emphasising of the notion for which the circle stands. It has been shown above that the circle is a substitute for the lotus or the wheel and that either of them may represent Brahman, the Buddha, the Jina, —whatever name the sectaries may employ. We may therefore expect a representation of one of these to replace the circle or to occur enclosed in it. The expectation is fulfilled: in a piece of Jain sculpture four nandipadas surrounded a circle (Fig. 16 : 13) in which is depicted the Jina.

If it is clear that the Nandipada over lotus or wheel was the symbol of the Buddha in the earliest day of Buddhist art, —as at Bharhut, —it is also equally clear that even at Bharhut its significance was understood only in part. A piece of sculpture comes from Bharhut in which a pair of 'Nandipadas over circle' are pictured side by side under one tree.¹⁰⁸ No explanation is possible for this repetition, —whether we take the symbol to stand for the Buddha or for some concept which the Buddhists had symbolised: there was no second Buddha and there was no concept in Buddhism which required a symbolic reduplication under a tree. For the symbol to have become somewhat of an unintelligible formula by then it should have had a career covering a few centuries. This surmise is confirmed by the conjecture that the symbol stood for Brahman before it was utilised for the Buddha as well. We meet with the horn-crown in the Harappa culture as a symbol but not with the lotus or the wheel. Perhaps the investing of the lotus and the wheel with significance as symbols came later and the association of these with the horn-crown came later still.

Image worship seems thus to have had a complicated history in India. The anthropomorphic image is well established in the Harappa culture, and even so early the divinity bears a symbol for head-dress. The next stage we know of is that in which the Nandipada over circle does duty for Brahman,

107. The only other instance of the use of a symbol under a tree is that of the *vestigium manus* which is carved on the seat itself in Fig. 13 : 2.

108. CUNNINGHAM, *Stupa of Bharhut*, 45 : 30(3). I am not aware that the repetition of the symbol has been noticed as calling for explanation. See Appendix 4, fn. 143.

but we do not know what length of time separated the two stages. It is probable that in this stage there were other symbolic images such as the *liṅga* in vogue and that anthropomorphic images too, such as those of the Mother, were not unknown. When some centuries later Buddhism comes to be popular it is in an age when even those who preferred a symbol to an image in the human form reversed the preference and worshipped the Buddha in his own shape. It is in this same age that we find records of Saṅkarṣaṇa, Kṛṣṇa, Pradyumna and the Pandava brothers being worshipped in the human form.

XIII. THE DEITY IN THE HEAD-RESS

The people of the Harappa culture had the hair of the head 'taken back from the forehead and either cut short behind . . . or coiled in a knot or chignon at the back of the head, with a fillet to support it'¹⁰⁹. Though, 'as a rule, no doubt, the fillets would be of cotton or some other pliable material', still, as the richer people should have used fillets of the precious metals, 'specimens . . . have been found at Mohenjo-Daro, consisting of thin bands of beaten gold with holes for cords at their ends', so that the necessary length may be secured by the addition of ribbons of cotton¹¹⁰. One of these fillets, almost long enough to go round the head, bears a design at the ends which 'resembles the cult object that is always represented in front of the unicorn animals present on most of the seals'¹¹¹. Other specimens are also known with designs which may have no significance¹¹². These fillets are not peculiar to the Harappa culture, their use having been widespread, for specimens have been found among the antiquities of early Egypt, Crete, and Mesopotamia. At a coronation performed according to Vedic rites¹¹³ the anointment was performed when the king wore a gold fillet on his head and chanted the words, 'Might thou art, victory thou art, immortality thou art', for, 'gold being immortal life' he laid 'immortal life into him'¹¹⁴. Fillets have been found elsewhere also, in India itself,—those best known being those from Adichanallur in the extreme south of the country.

The designs on the fillets are often of no special interest, but occasionally they appear to have some significance¹¹⁵. A fillet from Crete (Fig. 17 : 1) exhibits a three-branched tree flanked on either side by a goat facing the tree.

109. MARSHALL, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 33-4.

110. *Ib.*, 34; also MACKAY, in *Ib.*, 509, 527-8.

111. MACKAY, in *Ib.*, 527 : 118(14).

112. MACKAY, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 526 : 135 (4).

113. KEITH, *Rel. & Phil. of Vedas & Up.*, 341.

114. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 5. 4. 1. 14.

115. There were perforations in the royal diadem, —'either with a hundred, or with nine, holes,' and 'if with a hundred holes, man here lives up to a hundred (years), and has a hundred energies, a hundred powers...., and if with nine holes there are in man those nine vital airs'; *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 5. 4. 1. 13. Many of the fillets of Eurasia and those of Adichanallur are pricked with numerous dots which run into an embossed design. Perhaps the embossed dots are modifications of the perforations.

The adoration of the tree by the goats indicates that the tree stands either for a sylvan spirit or for the haunt of a divinity. The wearing of the fillet would therefore imply the wearing the symbol of a spirit or its haunt on the forehead. To this day it is a practice for the votaries of certain Indian sects to



Fig. 17.

wear symbols on the head-dress, such as a holy seed or a *liṅga*. A Ceylon king of about 1600 A.D. is represented in a contemporary drawing as wearing a crown in which is engraved a Buddha¹¹⁶. If in the Cretan fillet it is a haunt that is pictured we may well expect the figure of the tree,—the haunt, —to be supplemented by the addition of an image of the divinity of the haunt or even to be supplanted by that image. Fillets might therefore have come in course of time to bear the figure of a divinity.

Some manifestations of the Buddha, known as Dhyāni-Buddhas in the iconography of later Buddhism, are said to be the 'sons' of certain other forms of the Buddha, and in token thereof they wear the figures of their 'sires' in their headdress (Fig. 17 : 2). The similarity with a divinity in the fillet is so striking that it is worth asking if the idea of the Dhyāni-Buddhas does not go back to the days of the Cretan fillet, and even earlier still¹¹⁷, and whether it was not descended from or through the Harappa culture.

116. COOMARASWAMY, *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, 326-7 : 22.

117. MACKAY, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 281 : 76 (14).

XIV. THE DEITY ON THE HEAD

Among the human figurines of terra-cotta found at Mohenjo-Daro is one (Fig. 18 : 2) which bears not only the characteristic head-dress spreading out into the shape of a fan but also 'a very curious object' which stands 'perched upon the fan.' The object has the appearance of 'a four-legged stool', but the legs continue upward in short stumps above the level of the seat. A second specimen of this type of figurine having also been unearthed, there is no doubt but that we have to deal, not with a freak, but with an established type. The four stumps rising from the four corners have no purpose unless they were provided to keep in position an object placed on the seat : they are admirably designed for the purpose, for they

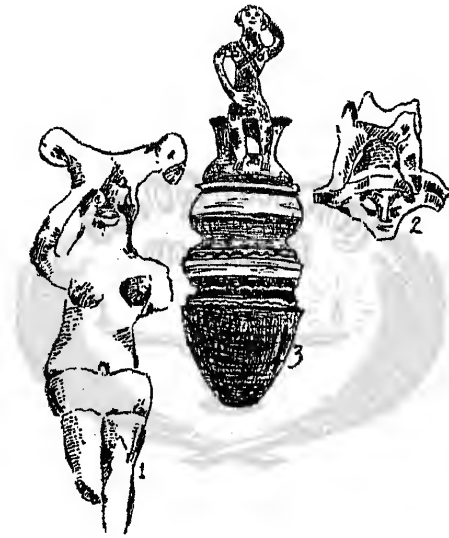


Fig. 18.

would prevent the object from veering round or sliding off. But none of the remains from Mohenjo-Daro gives us a clue as to what that object might be. 'A very roughly modelled, seated figure' found at the same place has a back which 'suggests that it was once placed on a stool.' It may be too venturesome to suppose that the original habitat of the seated figure was a stool on the head of a figurine. Till more and fuller specimens become available we cannot hope to decide what the figurines represent, but, in the meanwhile, it may not be unprofitable to point to analogues, though they may not be quite close.

In the barrows of the Nilgiris have been found numerous terra-cotta vessels, one of which (Fig. 18 : 3) bears on the lid a four-legged stool with a woman(?) seated on it, her legs dangling down. Another of the objects in these barrows is a similar stool which bears traces of a figure having been

seated thereon, and, perhaps, that figure was that of a man¹¹⁸. The significance of the man with the stool is not obvious. The mounting of the stool and the man on the lid of a vessel is due, in all probability, to its being a funeral relic vessel. Whether the type of 'man on stool' was intended to depict a person in authority is more than may now be decided.

The Nilgiri figurines suggest the conjecture that the stool carried on the head by the two figurines of Mohenjo-Daro might have been intended for occupation by a human figure. If this is probable the two Mohenjo-Daro figurines turn out to be very peculiar: a man wears a head-gear on top of which is perched a stool, and on that piece of furniture is seated another man. The collocation is inexplicable, but we may not say that the figurine from Mohenjo-Daro is a total stranger to that from the Nilgiris. Having just seen that Indian art knew of one man being shown seated in the head-dress of another, we cannot dismiss lightly the probability of the conjecture advanced above.

Jain iconography knows of a few images which carry smaller images on the head,—the smaller ones being invariably seated. Ambikā-devī, the Yakṣī or the śāsana-devatā of Neminātha, the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara, is represented both in the standing and the sitting postures, and a seated Jina is poised on her head, or is suspended just above. The Jina is identified with her Tīrthaṅkara, Neminātha.¹¹⁹ A Dhyānī-Buddha wearing his 'sire' as on a fillet is not a parallel, for Ambikā makes a head-load of Neminātha's image instead of incorporating his image in a fillet running round a head-dress.¹²⁰

An interesting statement is reported by a Greek writer, Bardisanes, who seems to belong to the 2nd-3rd century A.D., that certain Indians who came as ambassadors to the Roman emperor Elagabalus told him that in 'a large cave in a very high mountain almost in the middle' of India was to be seen 'a statue of ten, say, or twelve cubits high, standing upright', of which 'in short the whole right side was male and the left female', and 'on its head was the image of a god, seated as on a throne.'¹²¹ Neither Bardisanes nor his informant might have been aware of the distinction between the *motifs* of 'man in head-dress' and 'man on a stool on man's head.' If it was the former he referred to, the image is difficult to identify. But, if it was the latter, the image of the huge standing figure may be one of Siva as Ardhanaṛī, 'half-woman', and the seated figure on the head may be the goddess Gaṅgā, who is usually represented as issuing from the windings of Siva's matted locks.¹²² But in no image of Siva is Gaṅgā shown 'seated as on a throne.' Though this

118. FOOTE, *Madras Government Museum: Cat. Pre-hist. Antiquities*, 48: No. 543, Nos. 539 and 544 are also worth comparing.

119. See SHAH, in *J. Univ. Bombay*, (1940): 9: 152 (2); 153: (14); 155: (9); 160: (23); 161: (24); 163-4: (29); 164: (30, 32).

120. In one of the images of Ambikā, Neminātha does become an ornament in the crown: see *Ibid.*, 9: 156: (12).

121. Johannes Stobaios, *Physica*, 1.56, cited in M'CRINDLE, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, 172-3.

122. LASSEN made this suggestion over a century back.

phrase does not compel us to assume an actual representation of a throne on the head of Śiva, still it is not inconsistent with the presence of one, and must even be unaccountable unless at least the seated deity could be assumed to have had the air of one who occupied a throne.

Was a throne actually represented on the head of the image mentioned by Bardisanes? Was the stool on the head of the figurine of Mohenjo-Daro a plebeian substitute for a throne? Or, are the figurines from Mohenjo-Daro and the Nilgiris and the image mentioned by Bardisanes and the images of Ambikā utterly unrelated to one another?

XV. BULL SACRIFICE AND BULL SPORT

Two seals found at Mohenjo-Daro picture a bull-sport that seems to have had a vogue there and to have had also a ritual significance. A bull,—or buffalo,—stands with lowered head as if charging at some acrobats, male and female : one of the acrobats seeks to take hold of a horn of the beast : another alights on its back with a skilful jump : others have been thrown down by the animal. The background to this scene is provided by a tree, a pillar and a bird on the pillar. The scene of the attempt at grappling the bull can be matched in every detail from scenes pictured in Cretan antiquities of the thousand years from about 2500 B.C. to 1500 B.C., but the background to the scene is lacking in them. Another seal and two amulets from Mohenjo-Daro show an acrobat taking hold of a bull,—or buffalo,—by its horns, trampling it on its nose or on one of its horns and thrusting a well-aimed spear into its back : a tree and a cobra seem also to have a place in the scene. In some Cretan antiquities we have scenes in which a high priest slays a bull,—or buffalo,—by driving a short sword into its neck, and makes an offering of it before a sacred tree and a pillar which is surmounted by an axe on which perches a dove. The Mohenjo-Daro relics picture a murderous encounter between beast and acrobats in which the casualties include the beast and some of the acrobats, but do not testify to the sacrificial scene which we find in the Cretan remains. But the tree, pillar and bird that occur as background in the grappling scene on the seals of Mohenjo-Daro have their counterparts in the tree, pillar and bird of the sacrificial scene on the Cretan objects. It looks, therefore, as if the three are scenes linked together as the successive stages in a ritual observance,—a grappling with a bull (or buffalo), a slaying it and an offering it in sacrifice. The tree, the dove and the axe being symbols of the Great Mother, their presence at the ritual is evidence of the sacrifice being made to that goddess.¹²³

To this day the Devī as Durgā,—one of the Indian manifestations of the Mother Goddess,—is worshipped in images representing her as standing on the neck of a buffalo and slaying it with a spear thrust into the nape. The Mother Goddess herself attacking the brute and slaying it may be but a variation on the theme of a slaughter by the votaries of the Goddess acting as

123. FABRI, in *ASI. A.R.*, 1935 : 93-100.

her emissaries. The latter ritual is well known all over India even now, and is frequently an observance patronised by princes. For instance, in one of the principalities of Central India a buffalo is plied with liquor on the day of the Dassera^h and is brought to a valley where a member of the royal family slashes it at the neck with a sharp sword so that blood may flow : the animal is then let loose but is attacked with lances, and when it falls killed it is taken by the outcastes who feast on it.¹²⁴ More often, the animal is slain in the presence of the Goddess and is offered to her in sacrifice. But the element of the sport with the bull—or buffalo,—is lacking in these practices and so we are not able to decide if these could be survivals of the Harappa ritual.

Telling of the manner in which Kṛṣṇa, avatar of Viṣṇu, won for wife the daughter of Nagnajit, king of the Kosalas, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* says that the Kosala royal house had a convention 'to put to test the strength of men, so that the best bridegroom might be obtained', that it consisted in a suitor having to try conclusions with 'seven sharp horned and irresistibly wild and wicked oxen', that Kṛṣṇa was invited to subdue seven oxen 'not subdued or governed by anybody,' that he thereupon 'tightened his girdle and, appearing as seven, sportfully subdued them and brought them under his power,' then 'tied them with ropes, having put down their turbulent strength (broken their teeth) and dragged them bound, even as a child may drag wooden bulls (toys),' and that king Nagnajit promptly bestowed his daughter on the hero.¹²⁵ This account makes it clear that Kṛṣṇa and his contemporaries of Kosala knew only the sport of grappling with the bull and that they did not seek to slay it and offer it up in sacrifice.

In a Tamil work¹²⁶ which does not seem to be later than the third century A.D.¹²⁷ occurs a poem in which a description is given of a similar practice observed by the Āyar,—the Cowherd race,—in the Tamil country. An admirable summary gives a vivid picture. 'They (the community) had a peculiar custom among them of selecting husbands for their girls from the victors of a bull-fight. A large area of ground is enclosed with palisades and strong fences. Into the enclosure are brought ferocious bulls with sharpened horns. On a specious loft, overlooking the enclosure, stand the shepherd girls whom they intend to give away in marriage. The shepherd youths prepared for the fight, first pray to their gods whose images are placed under old banian or peepul trees or at watering places. Then they deck themselves with garlands made of the bright red flowers of the *kanihal* and the purple flowers of the *kadya*. At a signal given by the beating of drums, the youths leap into the enclosure and try to seize the bulls, which, frightened by the noise of the drums, are now ready to charge any one who approaches them. Each youth approaches a bull which he chooses to capture. But the bulls rush furiously

124. SARKAR, in *Univ. Calcutta : J. Dept. Letters*, (1927) 15 : 202-3.

125. *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, 10. 58. 32-55.

126. *Kalīṭ-Tohai*.

127. It is one of the 'Sangam' works and none of them seems to be of a later date.

with tails raised, heads bent down and horns levelled at their assailants. Some of the youths face the bulls boldly and seize their horns. Some jump aside and take hold of their tails. The more wary young men skilfully avoid the horns and clasping the neck cling to the animals till they force them to fall on the ground. Many a luckless youth is now thrown down. Some escape without a scratch, while others are trampled upon or gored by the bulls. Some, though wounded and bleeding, again spring on the bulls. A few who succeed in capturing the animals are declared the victors of that day's fight. The elders then announce that the bull fight is over. The wounded are carried out of the enclosure and attended to immediately ; while the victors and the brides-elect repair to an adjoining grove, and there forming into groups, dance joyously before preparing for their marriage.¹²⁸ Here too the bull-slaughter and the sacrifice are absent.

Among the Kallars and the Maravars of the Tamil country, the Hal-yakki Vakkals and the Bants of Kanara a bull-sport of some kind appears to have been an annual observance. Its most spectacular form is that known as the 'Jalli-kaṭṭu' in the Pandya region of the Tamil land. With a view to graduating into eligible bridegrooms, Kallar and Maravar youths enter, in the season of the harvest, an arena in which a bull careers about maddened by the shouts of a crowded audience and the blare of trumpets, grapple it and wrest a pack of jewellery or a sacral scarf tied to its horn. As many as two hundred bulls might be deployed at a performance. The youths may bear swords but may use them only in self-defence. A bull may gore a youth, but no youth shall kill a bull.¹²⁹

The bull-fights of Kṛṣṇa and of the modern candidates for matrimony are in the nature of a sport and not of a fight : the bull-grappling scene alone is enacted, and the bull-slaughter and the bull-sacrifice scenes do not follow. A pastoral people may have developed this simple observance as a manly exercise and they need not have hitched it to a ritual. None the less the connection of the sport with harvest and marriage cannot be over-looked : if it is a fertility observance, as the evidence suggests, it may not be unrelated in some form to the bull-sacrifices of Crete and Harappa which, as we have seen, are connected with the Great Mother.

The bull-sport in India seems to have been primarily associated with a people known as the Ābhīras in the ancient Purāṇas, for the Ahirs of the Central Provinces among whom we have found the sport to be current are their modern representatives in mid-India, and the Āyar of the Pandya region,

128. *Kalit-Tohai*, 101, summarised in KANAKASABHAI-PILLAI, *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, 57-8. The bull-sport attained rank as a classical motif in later Tamil literature.

129. CROOKE, in *Folklore*, 1917 : 146-9. The paper is an excellent digest of much valuable information, but dissimilar practices are jumbled up. Fights between bulls, fights between men and bulls, bulls trampling pigs and bulls trampling over images and breaking them are handled without much of discrimination. This paper may be read in conjunction with BISHOP's paper, 'The Ritual Bullfight' in the *Smithsonian Institution : Annual Report*, 1926 : 447-56.

the youths of which are mentioned in the ancient Tamil classic as delighting in the sport, are no other than the Ahirs or Ābhīras. The habitat of the Ābhīras in the earliest days in which we catch a glimpse of them,—the two or three centuries before Christ,—is the north-west of India : indeed, it is just the home of the Harappa culture. They were generally on the move, and perhaps they came down rapidly to the Central Provinces and even to the end of the country, for, 'the Āyar in the Pandyan dominion had a tradition', mentioned in the same Tamil classic, 'that they came into the Tamil land along with the founder of the Pandyan family.'¹³⁰ The sport may, therefore, have journeyed from the north-west to the extreme south along with the Ābhīras. The Kallar and Maravar of the Pandyan region who now indulge in the sport may be either the descendants of the Āyar of the days of the ancient Tamil work¹³¹ or they might have been in close contact with them and borrowed the sport from them.

We have found that in south India and as early as the third century A.D.,—the latest date of the Tamil classic,—the Ābhīras did not make a sacrifice of the bull. In the north too, and at a date even much earlier than in the south, the element of sport alone is found associated with these combats, and not that of sacrifice, for, Kṛṣṇa subdued, but did not slay, the seven bulls that he had to contend with for the hand of the Kosalan princess. When we recall that this Kṛṣṇa is also the god of the Ābhīras, we cannot help speculating whether his example had a bearing on the character of the observance.

The generally accepted dates for Kṛṣṇa and for the beginning of the migrations of the Ābhīras in India are much later than the age of the Harappa culture. So, the probabilities are that the heirs to the Harappa culture, whoever they were, had themselves shed the element of sacrifice in the observance by the time they came into contact with the Ābhīras, or that they retained it as a sport-cum-sacrifice observance and passed it on as such to the Ābhīras who, however, subsequently discarded the element of sacrifice. We do not have the data that would enable us to decide between these two probabilities.

It is to a Kṛṣṇa that,—according to the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, attributed generally to about the seventh century B.C.,—his preceptor, Ghora-Āṅgīrasa, imparted the doctrine of *Ahiṃsā*, 'the not inflicting of pain.'¹³² A practical application of the teaching of *Ahiṃsā* would certainly have been elimination of the killing of the bull vanquished in the tussle, but Kṛṣṇa, the hero of the Puranas, is not known to have been a votary of *Ahiṃsā*. The conversion of the sacrifice into a mere sport may not therefore have been effected by this Kṛṣṇa, if the sophistication had not already occurred. The contest with the

130. KANAKASABHAI-PILLAI, *op. cit.*, 57.

131. The Tamil Iḍaiyar of modern days who claim to be the descendants of the Āyar of ancient times do not, however, know of the 'Jalli-Kaṭṭu.' If they are the genuine Āyar we have to find a reason for their having totally abandoned the observance and for its having passed into other hands.

132. 'Austerity, alms-giving, uprightness, harmlessness (*Ahiṃsā*), truthfulness—these are one's gifts for the priests': 3.19.4.

seven bulls which he had to engage in to win the hand of the princess of Kosala is definitely stated to have been on a pattern which had been traditional in the family of the kings of Kosala, and that pattern was that of a mere sport and not that of a sport culminating in a sacrifice. Further, Ghora-Āṅgīrasa is not said to have been the first thinker to have preached the gospel of *Ahiṃsā* nor was Kṛṣṇa his pupil the first initiate into the doctrine. Faith in *Ahiṃsā* might therefore be much older than Ghora-Āṅgīrasa and, indeed, earlier than the hero of the Puranas who was the name-sake of Kṛṣṇa the pupil. So the observance might have lost the element of sacrifice long before the Kṛṣṇa of the seven bulls. It may be that earlier teachers of the doctrine had influenced earlier heroes to divest the bull sport of the element of sacrifice and that the earlier rulers of Kosala had known only of a bull sport that did not lead up to a sacrifice. Long before the days of Kṛṣṇa the hero the gory rite should have been redeemed and turned into a noble sport freed from the bloodshed of a ritual. The probabilities seem therefore to lie in favour of the view that the change in the character of the observance occurred subsequent to the days of the Harappa culture but generations before the Kṛṣṇa of heroic mettle and that the *Ahiṃsā* doctrine had had a share in bringing about the change.

XVI. CONCLUSIONS

We have now seen that the Harappa culture did survive for long centuries. The die-struck and the cast varieties of early Indian coinage are indebted to this culture for at least their form. They turn out now to be not only free from all trace of foreign elements but also to have had their roots in Indian tradition. Some plaques from Ceylon are in the direct line of descent from amulets of the Harappa age, and the image of Gaja-Lakṣmī on the plaques is at least a survival of Harappa *motifs*. The image of Śiva as Dakṣiṇāmūrti and the image of the Buddha as Yogī-God are the products of that culture. The cults of the sacred tree and the symbols have come down, in all probability, from the days of Harappa. The veneration of the preceptor and the granting to him of a status almost equal to that of God which are, to this day, features of Indian religious life are legacies bequeathed by the Harappa culture. The horn-crown on the head of the Śiva-Paśupati of Harappa became a symbol of considerable significance and survived in combination with other symbols. Representations of deities worn on a head-dress and carried on the head seem also to be survivals of Harappa fashions. The bull-sacrifice following a bull-sport that is still offered in corners of the country is probably based on Harappa precedents, and the bull-sport, without the sacrifice as a sequel, common to this day in other parts of the country, appears to be a sophistication of the Harappa ritual.

The influence of the Harappa culture seems to have been felt also in countries beyond India. Greek coinage at its best betrays traces of the influence about the close of the 6th century B.C. and Parthian coinage does so about the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. If a culture that disappeared about 2500

B.C. in India is found to have had some influence in Greece about 500 B.C. and in Parthia about 300 B.C. it is obvious that features of that culture should have travelled to those lands before its disappearance in India,—or at least that in the interval of two thousand years some survivals of that culture had spread from India into those regions.

A few features of the Harappa culture appear to be traceable in Vedic culture as well. The idea of a divinity as Paśupati is common to both, and also Yoga as a religious practice. The association of a Yogī and a preceptor with a tree is equally common. In both cultures deer are associated with preceptorship and pupillage. The *vestigium pedis* which is known to vedic culture seems to have had a place in that of Harappa as well. The use of a fillet in a ritual appears in both the cultures. A divinity carried on the head of a man or of another divinity is also known to both cultures. All these are features which the two cultures do not seem to share with any other culture,—except perhaps the ritual use of the fillet. The vedic culture, however, is assumed to have entered India a thousand years at least after that of Harappa. If this view is correct the former must have been indebted to the latter for these features, and the debt must have been contracted in the days when the vedic people came into the Harappa region and established contact with the remains of the Harappa culture. But these features are so characteristic of vedic culture that it is almost unbelievable that they came from another culture,—especially from one which, having disappeared, could have left behind only a few traces which should have by then decayed in significance. Some other explanation has to be found. Perhaps the two cultures were more intimately related than is realised.

The evidence that we have passed in review shows also that this culture had features that were similar to some in other contemporary cultures. The tree and the serpent and the standard were venerated in the Harappa region as in Crete and in Mesopotamia. Anthropomorphic images were in vogue in all these regions. The horn-crown had its analogue in Egypt and in Mesopotamia. The bull-sacrifice of Harappa was almost identical with that of Crete. The pattern of a cult-object between adorants was common to these areas and to Egypt. But it is not yet possible to determine finally which feature originated in which culture and who borrowed from whom. These similarities establish the frequency with which even so early in history the currents and cross-currents of influence flowed through cultures separated from each other by great distances.¹³³

APPENDICES

1. SCRIPTS OF HARAPPA AND EASTER ISLAND (See Section I, fn. 6.)

In discussions on the relation between the Harappa and the Easter Island scripts no reference seems to have been made to a theory postulated a few

133. See Appendix 9.

years before the Harappa script came to receive attention, that the Easter Island script comprises 'a number of bird-symbols', that 'the birds are variously depicted, some more or less realistically, others conventionally, and others conventionally and often with human attributes', that 'by far the greater proportion' of the bird-symbols 'clearly represent the frigate bird', that that bird had no home in the Easter Island, that its original home was in the Solomon Islands in Melanesia, and that therefore 'it seems probable that the script itself originated in the Melanesian area and was perfected in Easter Island while the memory of this bird and of its cult-associations still persisted.'¹³⁴ The theory need not, however, be inconsistent with a still earlier origin in the Harappa region, for if the Harappa script did travel abroad and did reach the Solomon Islands it might have been noticed there that the outlines of the characters of the script conformed to those of the frigate-bird and, in consequence, a resemblance to the bird might have been imposed there on the characters.

2. ANALOGUES TO THE HARAPPA SEALS (See Section II, *fn.* 15.)

When the Harappa seals leapt into the limelight, in 1924, a comparison was forthwith invited with 'the Proto-Elamite "tablets de comptabilité" discovered. . . . at Susa',¹³⁵ extending in time from about 2600 to 2300 B.C., and it was asserted that the seals and the tablets are 'practically identical' as 'the form and size of the plaques are the same, the "unicorns" are the same and the pictographs and numerals are also the same' and that 'the identity is such that the "seals" and tablets might have come from the same hand'.¹³⁶ Not even the emphasis with which the comparison was enforced has secured attention to the suggestion of similarity. The comparison has failed to receive support from any other quarter and, indeed, it has not been alluded to by others,—even to be dismissed out of hand. The published illustrations of the Proto-Elamite tablets convey only an inadequate impression of their appearance and special features. None the less, it is clear that no similarity is traceable. Very few of the tablets are square: the device and the writing, where they appear together, stand in no mutual relation to each other: the animals do not usually stand in front of a 'standard' or 'incense-burner' or of any other object: the writing and device have the appearance of having been produced separately on the tablet and not evoked together by the stamping of one seal bearing both writing and device: the animals seem to have been imprinted by rolling a cylinder on the tablet-face. The Susa tablets are documents,—records of transactions,—while the Harappa pieces are only seals. 'Il est certain que tous les textes de nos tablettes, sans aucune exception, sont des documents de comptabilité', and

134. BALFOUR, in *Folklore*, 1917 : 371-6.

135. Published by SCHEIL in DE MORGAN's *Délégation en Perse, Mémoires*, Vol. 6 (1905) and Vol. 17 (1923).

136. SAYCE, in *Ild.*, *London News*, 27 Sept. 1924 ; 566.

'ces tablettes, toutes sans exception, constituent des actes compables, fournitures, livraisons, inventaires'.¹³⁷ We may, therefore, take it that the Harappa seals and the Susa tablets have little in common.

Stamp seals of a square shape are contemporary with the Harappa seals, but we do not know that seals similar to the Harappa ones in format and design have come to light anywhere else. The nearest approaches are seals like the one which, found at Ur in a stratum assignable to about 2650-2500 B.C., yields a square impression in which a goat stands in profile under a largish crescent which, perhaps, encloses a star or a sun between the horns,¹³⁸ but even these are far different from the seals of Harappa.

3. EARLY SQUARE COINS (See Section II, *fn.* 27.)

If credence could be given to Chinese tradition, the founder of the Chou dynasty (c. 1050 B.C.) seems to have had a minister of the name of T'ai Kung, who, coming from beyond the land of Chou, 'instituted (which may mean either invented, or simply introduced), for his master's benefit, a "system of currency", which included squares of gold of a fixed weight, lengths of silk and hempen cloth of definite dimensions, and lastly, round copper or bronze coins having a central hole'.¹³⁹ Could it be inferred that the minister was native of a region where the square shape for coinage was appreciated for its ensuring uniformity of weight and that that region had known of the square seals of Harappa or derivatives from them? To accept the inference would be to date the origin of coins many centuries earlier than is generally agreed. Coinage must have been invented much earlier than T'ai Kung if two shapes,—the square and the round,—had come to be accepted by his times.

4. THE GARUḌA IN A BUDDHIST SCENE (See Section VI, *fn.* 55a.)

On the vertical face of the platform on which the Buddha should have been seated (Fig. 9 : 2) are incised two Garuḍas (holy eagles) in flight. The urge for decoration is scarcely adequate as an explanation for the occurrence of the bird in the sculpture, for the chances of a Garuḍa being chosen for a purely ornamental purpose are infinitesimal as against those of the innumerable other objects that have a decorative appeal. Nor is it easy to account for the bird appearing in a Buddhist setting, for, while the association of the Garuḍa with Soma and Viṣṇu are well known we have no knowledge of its having any connection with the Buddha or his teaching or the beliefs he countenanced. A clue is worth looking for.

137. SCHEIL, in DE MORGAN, *op. cit.*

138. LEGRAIN, *Ur Excavations : III Archaic Seal-Impressions*, 2, 17, 45 : 31 (539).

139. HOPKINS, in *JRAS.*, 1895 : 319-20, 340, citing the 'History of the Earlier Han Dynasty' and some other authorities.

Certain fire altars used in Vedic sacrifices are built in the form of an eagle,¹⁴⁰ and a few of them, known as the *śyenacits*,¹⁴¹ follow the outlines of a bird in flight.¹⁴² These altars recall to mind, though but dimly, the platform in this Buddhist piece with the flying Garuḍas on its face, the vacant platform looking but a variant of a fire-altar.

The sculptured scene in which the Garuḍas appear in flight is that in which the feet of the Buddha are venerated by his followers. The purpose of the veneration of the feet cannot but be the attainment of *Nirvāṇa*—which is what every Buddhist wishes to attain to on his dissolution. The fire altars in the form of the eagle in flight are prescribed when the object of the sacrifice is, not the gaining of food or cattle nor even the achieving of Brahma-loka, but is the attainment of heaven. The Garuḍa which has a place in a Vedic ritual that leads the sacrificer to heaven appears also in a parallel context in Buddhism,—associated in a mode of worship by which the devotee of the Buddha seeks to achieve *nirvāṇa*. By the time of this piece of sculpture the attainment of the *nirvāṇa* of Buddhism had in all probability come to be equated to what in the Vedic faith was the attainment of heaven. Buddhist belief might therefore have expressed itself in this piece of sculpture in terms of Vedic symbolism. That two Garuḍas,—instead of one,—should be shown incised on the platform may be due either to an unintelligent adoption of the symbolism or to a variation made deliberately to obscure the earlier associations of the symbol.¹⁴³

5. PATTERNS ON CYLINDER SEALS (See Section VII, *fn.* 56.)

The disposition of the patterns in cylinder seals has not been always correctly understood by even competent authorities. It is therefore desirable to explain briefly the arrangement of the patterns with reference to one of the examples illustrated here (Fig. 11 : 1).

Being a cylinder, the seal could be rolled on indefinitely so that the imprint of the pattern in the seal could be repeated in a line as often as the seal completes a revolution. An illustration (Fig. 11 : I) shows the imprint left by the seal when, having done just one full revolution, it has gone through an exact half of the second : the imprint of the first revolution closes with a line drawn vertically just after the tail of the goat facing left.

The pattern resulting from the first revolution is mainly that of the pair of entwined serpents between goats that stand facing each other : the flower between the horns of the two goats is no more than an embellishment filling

140. See, for instance, *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 8.1.4.8.

141. See, for instance, MAJUMDAR, in *J. In. Soc. Or. Art.*, (1939) 7 : 40-42, 45, 57-60, and *Ibid.*, (1940) 8 : 21-36.

142. It may be that 'the bird is to fly to the sky as the sacrifice, and with the bird the sacrificer who is identified with Prajāpati is to attain the sky': KEITH, *Rel. & Phil. Vedas & Up.*, 466.

143. The duplication of a symbol in one of the sculptures at Bharhut may well be a parallel (see section XII, *fn.* 108).

up a gap in the composition. The pattern would thus be self-contained but for an unintelligible object appearing in the upper left of the imprint and an equally unintelligible object appearing in the upper right of the imprint, if the imprint was confined to the first revolution. But it is interesting to note that while one of these objects seems to stretch towards the right, the other stretches towards the left,—and, what is more interesting, in a manner that suggests that they are but the right and the left halves of a symmetrically designed object.

If the imprint is continued just a little further, the suspicion we had is confirmed, for the object stands revealed as an eagle flying vertically with its wings spread wide and symmetrically.

If the imprint is continued still further to the extent of a half of the second revolution of the seal,—as shown in the illustration,—the left half of the pattern repeats itself: the first goat, facing right, appears again facing right, and the entwined pair of serpents appear once more but they do not fully reveal themselves.

If the seal goes completely through the second revolution the right half of the entwined pair emerges and the goat facing left reappears, so that the pattern repeats itself a second time. But, in the process, a second pattern has appeared: a pair of goats stand back to back, and a spread eagle fills in the gap in the upper half. If in the first revolution the eagle is visible only to the extent of a half while the serpents and the flower are seen in full, the eagle has its revenge when the cylinder makes a half of the next revolution, for, then, the eagle gets unfurled in full while the serpents and the flower are vertically cut in twain at the right of the imprint.

If the seal is rolled further and further the first pattern of goats face to face and the second pattern of goats back to back repeat themselves, and, incidentally, the flower and the spread eagle also repeat themselves, adding to the variety of the patterns.

The seal itself bears engraved in it only one pair of goats and one pair of entwined serpents and only one flower and one eagle. If the seal starts on a revolution with imprinting the right half of the flower and completes the revolution with imprinting the left half of the flower we get the pattern of goat facing goat; if, however, it starts with the right half of the eagle and closes with the left half we have the pattern of goats back to back. The point from which the seal starts rolling determines the pattern we get, but the skill of the artist of the seal lies in his evoking both patterns from one design in one seal.¹⁴⁴

6. OTHER AFFILIATIONS OF THE DEER (See Section X, *fn.* 74a.)

The deer is associated with Vedic sacrifice as well. The sacrificer clothes himself in a deer skin to which he ties the horn of a deer; his seat is the skin of a black antelope and his shoes are made of antelope hide.¹⁴⁵ The

144. This is possible only in a cylinder Seal.

145. *Taittirīya Samhitā*, 5.4.4.4.

tract between the Himalayas and the Vindhya 'which extends as far as the eastern and the western oceans' called Āryāvarta,—'the land where the black antelope naturally roams',—is 'fit for the performance of sacrifices'; it is the *yajñīya deśa*.¹⁴⁶ That the skin and the horn are indispensable to the sacrificer is perhaps the reason for *yajñīya deśa* being defined as the land of the black antelope, but we do not know why that animal had to divest itself of its skin and horn for sacrifices.

Śiva, who has adopted some of the features of Rudra, is usually figured holding a deer in one of his hands. Rudra is said to have claimed all that was over a place of sacrifice, having appeared there as a black giant.¹⁴⁷ Rudra is also said to have shot Prajāpati on his taking the form of a deer after his incest with Ushas.¹⁴⁸ These references are too incomplete and obscure to help us to unravel the relationship that seems to subsist between Rudra, Prajāpati, the sacrifice and the deer.

7. MAUES, MAÑJU-ŚRĪ AND MAHAYANISM (See Section XI, fn. 93.)

If the beginnings of the art of Gandhara could be dated about the early years of the 1st century B.C. at the latest and if Mahayanism could be traced in the earliest products of the Gandhara school, it is worth asking whether the Maues coin pictures one of the Mahayana deities. The sword points indubitably to Mañju-Śrī. It may be hard to believe that a Greek king would have thrust a sword into the hands of one who was capable of placing it idly in his lap and folding his hands over it,—as we find on the coin of Maues,—but it is certainly not difficult to see that Mañju-Śrī who had been meek enough to arm himself with a book would not have known better than to have grown moody over the inconvenient possession of a sword and to have placed both hands in the lap.¹⁴⁹

There may be no general acceptance of the view that Mahayanism was so early as the beginning of the 1st century B.C., but, if the view advanced here that the Buddha had become a divinity much earlier than the sculptures of Bharhut and Sanchi is accepted, it is not improbable that the origins of Mahāyānism should be much earlier than is believed.

To suggest a very early date for Mañju-Śrī, as has been done here, is to risk a summary dismissal. But, to decline to see Mañju-Śrī on the coin of Maues is to accept the modern interpretation of the seated figure and the cross-bar in preference to that of Azes.

8. EGYPTIAN ANALOGUES TO NANDIPADA OVER CIRCLE? (See Section XII, fn. 103a.)

The combination of a pair of horns and a circular object occurs also in Egypt in representations of the divinities Amon, Hathor, Isis, Khonsu,

146. *Manu Dharma Śāstra*, 2.22-3.

147. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, 3.31.1.; 5.14.

148. *Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā*, 4.2.12; *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, 3.33.

149. TARN, at any rate, can have no quarrel with this view, for he assigns an early date for the rise of the Mahāyāna school.

Nephthys and Ra, and of rulers like Cleopatra. A large disc,—sometimes an object looking like a large globe,—rests at the junction of a pair of horns displayed as on the head of an animal, and, usually, the horns rise almost hugging the disc. How artistically the combination can be presented will be realised only when we look at sculptures of Hathor as cow and at the colossal ram from Napata. Obviously, a pair of horns enclosing a disc was a symbol of importance in Egypt.

This symbol and the nandipada over circle are similar in that horns and a circular object are the elements composing the design, but the similarity ends there. Firstly, in the Indian symbol the circular object occurs below the horns while it stands between the horns in the Egyptian symbol. Secondly, the circular object in the Indian symbol appears to be a modification of the lotus or the wheel, while the disc in the Egyptian symbol seems to be a variant of a globe. Thirdly, the horns of the Egyptian symbol are but two and they spring as from the head of an animal, but in the Indian symbol a third member occurs at the junction of the horns,—a projection like a cup or helmet or like a spike,—usually much shorter than the other two members, but often as long as the others, as in a *triśūla*.

Another symbol is known to Egypt (Fig. 16 : 5) which integrates the horn-crown or nandipada but it does not incorporate the circle or disc as well.

The nandipada over circle seems therefore to have had no counterparts in Egypt.

9. ORIGIN OF NAME HARAPPA (See Section XVI, *fn.* 133.)

The name of Harappa itself is perhaps an instance of flotsam. The name has not been accounted for in terms of any language of the area in which this townlet lies. Even folk etymology confessed defeat, and tradition had to resort to that desperate remedy,—the creation of an eponymous king,—Harappa, to lend his name to the city. So we may assume tentatively that the name is an ancient one that has come down to modern times. Far away in Iraq, a little to the east of the Tigris and on the site of the modern town of Karkuk, there stood a city the name of which has been variously spelt as Arrapha¹⁵⁰ and Arrapkha.¹⁵¹ The pronunciation of the name of this city is almost identical with that of Harappa.¹⁵² Though the Iraqi city does 'not seem to have been known in the period of Ur (3000 B.C.),¹⁵³ it appears to have been taken by the kings of Gutium about 2400 B.C.;¹⁵⁴ so its antiquity must be earlier than the latter of these two dates. It is practically to this same period that the Indian city is assignable and it is well established that Iraq and the Indus valley were then in contact with each other. Nothing short of a marvel could explain both cities having

150. SMITH, *Early Hist. Assyria*, 88.

151. LANGDON, in *Cambridge Ancient History*, 1 : 423.

152. Especially when we bear in mind the special values of the initial vowel and of the *h* and the *kh* in these names.

153. *Ibid.*, 1 : 423,

154. *Ibid.*, 1 : 439.

the same name if we assume either that each of them came by its name independently or that the Indian city adopted a name within recent centuries which had been forgotten in Iraq long centuries ago. It looks extremely probable that one of the two cities owed its name to the other,¹⁵⁵ though we cannot yet say which bore the name earlier, and, therefore, lent it to the other by way of recognition of mutual indebtedness.¹⁵⁶

10. CLUE TO DECIPHERMENT OF HARAPPA SCRIPT (See Appendix 9, *fn.* 155.)

Now that we know of a place-name which might have been current in the days of the Harappa culture, it is worth attempting to trace the name in the seals from Harappa. It is legitimate to assume that these seals bear the names of the respective owners, that some at least of the owners might have added on the seals that they belonged to Harappa, that therefore the name of that city may be found on a few at least of the seals found at Harappa, that the name would not ordinarily have been used on the seals found at Mohenjo-Daro, that therefore the groups of symbols expressing the name of Harappa would not be found ordinarily in the seals from Mohenjo-Daro, that consequently the group must be peculiar to the seals that have turned up at Harappa, that if the script was syllabic the name might have been expressed in three characters and that they would occur together and in the same order. If such a group of characters could be isolated,—frequent at Harappa and uncommon at Mohenjo-Daro,—we may be almost confident of having settled the values of three of the Harappa characters. At present this seems to be the only possible basis for an attempt at fixing the values of a few of the characters on the seals of this culture.

11. ORIGIN OF NAME MUSIRI (See Appendix 11, *fn.* 156.)

A second Indian place-name also may possibly have been derived from a region not very distant from Arrapha. Some places in south India bear a name, Mušīri, which is not susceptible of being derived from the languages of the areas in which they are situated. Muiyir-k-kōḍu, on the Arabian sea, near Cochin, was known to Ptolemy as Mouziris, which is equivalent in modern Tamil to Mušīri. Another town of the name Mušīri is now to be found in the interior of the Tamil country,—in the Trichinopoly district. Mušīr-pākkam is a village in the Chingleput district. In a part of ancient Cappadocia,—the area north-west of Antioch and Alexandretta, almost bordering on the Mediterranean,—a place known as Mušri was conquered by a descendant of Ashur-uballit, king of Assyria, between about 1385 and 1342 B.C.¹⁵⁷ May it be that the similarity of names is to be accounted for by commercial intercourse between the coasts of the Mediterranean and the west coast of south India?

155. See Appendix 10.

156. See Appendix 11.

157. THOMPSON, in *Cambridge Ancient History*, 2 : 234, 241, 250.

KEY TO ILLUSTRATIONS

No.	PROVENANCE	OBJECT	DATE	REFERENCE
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FIGURE 1

1	Mohenjo-Daro	Sealing	c 2800 B. C.	MARSHALL, <i>Mohenjo-Daro</i> , —: 112 (369)
2	Harappa	"	"	VATS, in <i>ASI. AR</i> , 1927: 107: 23 (3)
3	Mohenjo-Daro	"	"	MARSHALL, <i>Mohenjo-Daro</i> , —: 110 (303)
4	"	"	"	MACKAY, <i>Mohenjo-Daro</i> , —: 96 (520)
5	Ayodhya	Coin	Prob. 2nd cent. B. C.	RIVETT-CARNAC, in <i>JASB.</i> , 49: 138: 16 (1)
6	"	"	"	ALLAN, <i>BM. CC. An. Ind.</i> , (89), 133: 17 (2)
7	Madura country	"	Prob. 2nd cent. A. D.	LOVENTHAL, <i>Coins Tinnevely</i> , 5: 1 (11)
8	"	"	"	<i>Ib.</i> , 6: 1 (13)
9	Ceylon	"	"	{ SMITH, <i>IM. CC.</i> , 200: 22 (19) { CODRINGTON, <i>Coins Ceylon</i> , 24: 2 (16)
10	Ujjain	"	3-2nd cent. B.C.	ALLAN, <i>BM. CC. An. Ind.</i> , (145), 261: 36 (8)
11	Audumbara	"	1st cent. B.C.	{ <i>Ib.</i> , (84) { CUNNINGHAM, <i>Coins An. India</i> , 68: 4 (2)
12	Ayodhya	"	Prob. 100-125 A. D.	ALLAN, <i>BM. CC. An. Ind.</i> , (90), 137: 17 (17)
13	Taxila	Signet Ring	"	MARSHALL, in <i>ASI. AR</i> . 1925: 50: 11 (5)
14	"	Coin	—	CUNNINGHAM, <i>Coins An. Ind.</i> , 62: 3 (3)
15	Kosam	"	152-144 B. C.	JAYASWAL, in <i>JBORS.</i> , (1934) 20: 291, 295: 2 (3)

FIGURE 2

1	Mohenjo-Daro	Sealing	c 2800 B. C.	MARSHALL, <i>Mohenjo-Daro</i> , 386: 111 (339)
2	Audumbara	Coin	1st cent. B. C.	ALLAN, <i>BM. CC., An. Ind.</i> , (84), 123: 14 (17)

FIGURE 3

1	Mohenjo-Daro	Sealing	c 2800 B. C.	MARSHALL, <i>Mohenjo-Daro</i> , 387: 111: (351)
2	Taxila	Coin	—	ALLAN, <i>BM. CC. An. Ind.</i> , (135), 225: 32 (21)
3	Piprahwa	Coin?	c 450-200 B. C.	SMITH & PEPPE, in <i>JRAS.</i> , 1898: 585: 1 (1)

No.	PROVENANCE	OBJECT	DATE	REFERENCE
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FIGURE 4

1	Aenus	Coin	c 460 B. C.	SELTMAN, <i>Greek Coins</i> , 145 : 29 (8)
2	Cyrene	"	c 525-480 B. C.	ROBINSON, <i>BM. CC. Cyrenaica</i> , 4 : 3 (7)
3	Macedon	"	c 413-399 B. C.	SELTMAN, <i>Greek Coins</i> , 139, 142 : 27 (14)
4	Athens	"	c 540 B. C.	<i>Ib.</i> , 51 : 4 (2)

FIGURE 5

1	Mohenjo-Daro	Sealing	c 2800 B. C.	MARSHALL, <i>Mohenjo-Daro</i> , — : 110 (319)
2	Thurium	Coin	c 440 B. C.	HILL, <i>Greek & Roman Coins</i> , 261 : 6(5)
3	Neapolis	"	c 420 B. C.	SELTMAN, <i>Greek Coins</i> , 115 : 18 (9)
4	Ur	Sealing	c 3000-2600 B. C.	SMITH, <i>Early H. Assyria</i> , 49-50 : (3)

FIGURE 6

1	Mohenjo-Daro	Sealing	c 2800 B. C.	MARSHALL, <i>Mohenjo-Daro</i> , — : 106 (93)
2	"	"	"	<i>Ib.</i> , — : 110 (302)
3	Chanhu-Daro	"	c 2000 B. C.	MAJUMDAR, <i>Explns. Sind</i> , 38 : 17 (38)
4	Parthia	Coin	c 230 B. C.	GARDNER, <i>Parthian Coinage</i> , 26 : 1 (4)
5	Bactria & N. W. India	"	c 175-156 B. C.	SMITH, <i>IM. CC.</i> , 12 : 2 (8)
6	Bactria	"	c 156-140 B. C.	<i>Ib.</i> , 14 : 3 (3)
	—	"	1st cent. B. C.	ALLAN, <i>BM. CC. An. Ind.</i> , (154) 280 : 45 (14)

FIGURE 7

1	Harappa	Amulet	c 2800 B. C.	MARSHALL, <i>Mohenjo-Daro</i> , 63 : 12 (13)
2	"	"	"	VATS, in <i>ASI. AR.</i> , 1928 : 83 : 34b.
3	Ceylon	Plaque	2nd cent. B. C.	{ CODRINGTON, <i>Coins Ceylon</i> , 29 : 2 (23) PARKER, <i>Ancient Ceylon</i> , 461, 475 : 154 (2)
4	Ceylon	"	"	CODRINGTON, <i>Coins Ceylon</i> , 28 : 2 (22)
5	Harappa	Amulet	c 2800 B. C.	VATS, in <i>ASI. AR.</i> , 1928 : 83 : 34-b
6	"	"	"	MARSHALL, <i>Mohenjo-Daro</i> , 65 : 12 (20)
7	"	"	"	<i>Ib.</i> , 69 : 13 (19)

No.	PROVENANCE	OBJECT	DATE	REFERENCE
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FIGURE 8

1	Bharhut	Sculpture	c 150 B. C.	CUNNINGHAM, <i>Stupa Bharhut</i> , 94 : 43 (4)
2	"	"	"	<i>Ib.</i> , 45 : 30 (1)
3	Mathura	"	c 100 A. D.	COOMARASWAMY, in <i>Art Bulletin</i> , 9 (4) : 39 : 21.
4	"	"	"	<i>Ib.</i> , 9 (4) : 39 : 22
5	Sanchi	"	2nd cent. B. C.	FERGUSSON, <i>Tree & Serpent Worship</i> , 115 : 25 (3)
6	Bodh-Gaya	"	c 100 B. C.	BURGESS, <i>Anc. Mon. Temp. Sculp. Ind.</i> , 19 : 172 (2)

FIGURE 9

1	Bharhut	Sculpture	c. 150 B. C.	CUNNINGHAM, <i>Stupa Bharhut</i> , 91-3 : 17 (2)
2	"	"	"	<i>Ib.</i> ; 112-3 : 16 (2)

FIGURE 10

—	Khandagiri	Sculpture	175-50 B. C.	MITRA, <i>Antiquities Orissa</i> , 2 : 32 : 23
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FIGURE 11

1	Mesopotamia	Seal	ante 3000 B. C.	FRANKFORT, <i>Cylinder Seals</i> , 17-8 : 3b
2	"	"	"	<i>Ib.</i> , 24 : 4 (j)
3	Nuzi	"	c 1450-1400 B. C.	<i>Ib.</i> , 183-4 : (44)
4	Crete	Signet ring	c 1400 B. C.	EVANS, <i>Palace of Minos</i> , 4 : 610 : 598 (a)
5	Knossos	Seal	"	<i>Ib.</i> , 4 : 607-8 : 597A (e)

FIGURE 12

—	Harappa	Bowl	c 2800 B. C.	VATS, in <i>ASI. AR.</i> 1930 : 126 — : 29f (1b)
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FIGURE 13

1	Mohenjo-Daro	Amulet	c 2800 B. C.	MARSHALL, <i>Mohenjo-Daro</i> , 68 : 118 (11)
2	"	Sealing	"	<i>Ib.</i> , 52-6 : 12 (17)

NO.	PROVENANCE	OBJECT	DATE	REFERENCE
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FIGURE 14

1	Mohenjo-Daro	Sealing	c 2800 B. C.	MACKAY, <i>Mohenjo-Daro</i> , 335 : 87 (222)
2	Ujjaini	Coin	c 3-2nd cent. B. C.	ALLAN, <i>BM. CC. An. Ind.</i> , (145), 252 : 38 (23)
3	"	"	"	CUNNINGHAM, <i>Coins An. Ind.</i> , 97 : 10 (7)
4	"	"	"	ALLAN, <i>BM. CC. An. Ind.</i> , (145), 252 : 38 (25)
5	Panchala	"	c 25 B. C.	<i>Ib.</i> , (120), 203 : 28 (20)
6	"	"	"	<i>Ib.</i> , (120) 204 : 29 (1)
7	Gandhara	"	c 75 B. C.	GARDNER, <i>BM. CC., Greeks & Scythians</i> , 71 : 17 (5)

FIGURE 15

1	'Gandhara'	Sculpture	100 B. C.-200 A. D.	BURGESS, <i>Anc. Mon. Temp. Sculp. Ind.</i> , 11 : 130 (2)
2	Amaravati	"	150-200 A. D.	BACCHOFER, <i>Early Ind. Sculp.</i> —: 128
3	Taxila	"	2nd cent. A. D.	<i>Ib.</i> —: 152 (6b)
4	Amaravati	"	c 150 A. D.	FERGUSON, <i>Tree & Serp. Worship</i> , 191-2 : 71 (2)

FIGURE 16

1	Mohenjo-Daro	Seal	c 2800 B. C.	MARSHALL, <i>Mohenjo-Daro</i>
2	Sanchi	Sculpture	2nd cent. B. C.	MAISEY, <i>Sanchi</i> , —: 31 (4)
3	"	"	"	<i>Ib.</i> , —: 31 (4)
4	Bharhut	"	c 150 B. C.	CUNNINGHAM, <i>Stupa Bharhut</i> , 45:30(3)
5	Sedment	—	c. 2800-2650 A. D.	PETRIE, <i>Decorative Designs</i> , —: 34 (M13)
6	Taxila	—	c 150 A. D.	<i>ASI. AR.</i> , 1924 : 66 : 27(1)
7	—	—	c 150 A. D.	<i>ASI. AR.</i>
8	Persia	Coin	5th cent. B. C.	HILL, <i>BM. CC. Arabia, etc.</i> , (135, 137)
9	Sanchi	Sculpture	2nd cent. B. C.	MAISEY, <i>Sanchi</i> , —: 39 (1)
10	"	"	"	<i>Ib.</i> , —: 31 (6)
11	Taxila	—	c 100 B. C.	<i>ASI. AR.</i> , 1913 : 27 : 21b 6
12	Sanchi	Sculpture	2nd cent. B. C.	MAISEY, <i>Sanchi</i> , —: 31 (4)

NO.	PROVENANCE	OBJECT	DATE	REFERENCE
13	Mathura	„	1st cent. A.D.	COOMARASWAMY, <i>Hist. In. Indo. Art.</i> —: 71
14	Lahun	—	c 2000-1800 B. C.	PETRIE, <i>Decorative Designs</i> , —: 34 (M 40)
15	Crete	—	c 2600-2400 B. C.	<i>Id.</i> , —: 34 (M 37)
16	Piprahwa	Gold Leaf	c 450-200 B. C.	SMITH & PEPPE, in <i>JRAS.</i> 1898: 585: 1

FIGURE 17

1	Enkomi	Gold-leaf	c 1380 B. C.	EVANS, <i>Palace of Minos</i> , 2: 494-5: (300)
2	Sanchi	Sculpture	c 6th cent. A. D.	MAISEY, <i>Sanchi</i> , —: 15 (10)

FIGURE 18

1	Mohenjo-Daro	Figurine	c 2800 B. C.	MARSHALL, <i>Mohenjo-Daro</i> .
2	„	„	„	MACKAY, <i>Mohenjo-Daro</i> . 279: 75 (15, 16)
3	Nilgiris	Pottery	—	BREEKS, <i>Primitive Tribes Nilgiris</i> , —: 36

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CONCORDANCE

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16-18	268-270	46-50	326-330
18-20	294-296	51-56	331-336
21-25	297-301	56-60	370-374
26-30	302-306	61-65	375-379
31-35	307-311	66-73	380-387

